

Ray Tyson Maddocks
 Charles Loomis Booth
 John Fuller Davis
 Eugene Harold Beebe
 John Walton Lang
 Wilbur Reece McReynolds
 George McCoy, Jr.
 Alden Rudyard Crawford
 Willard Gordon Wyman
 Reuben Columbus Hood, Jr.
 Donald Frank Stace
 Orval Ray Cook
 Malcolm Fraser Lindsey
 Charles Augustus French
 Frank Dow Merrill
 Carl Brown McDaniel
 Leonard Henderson Sims
 Ridgely Gaitther
 Zim E. Lawhon
 Charles Trovilia Myers
 Thomas Jeffries Betts
 Leon William Johnson
 Theodore Leslie Futch
 Frank Needham Roberts
 James Wrathall Spry
 Oliver Lincoln Haines
 Paul Clarence Paschal
 Samuel Egbert Anderson
 Tristram Tupper
 Kenneth Claiborne Royall

POSTMASTERS

KENTUCKY

Milton Tackett, Pikeville.

OKLAHOMA

Hal Files, Talihina.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1943

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Lord of life and love, we would wait and look unto Thee for direction. Down through the centuries, through the difficulties of this bewildering world, amid the blunderings of men, the multitudes have looked to Thee with audacious hopes. Thou art ever ready with earth's unlocked riches for all; O, may we come wondrously into the deepest ministries of Thy spirit.

Our assignment means service, self-denial, and devotion as exemplified by Him who gave all until there was nothing He had not given. Enable us to confront these days with voluntary self-abnegation of our individual rights, thus making our realm of service most glorious. Let us be deaf to the hoarse appeals of bias and personal claims in which there is not a shadow of reality. We pray that we may scorn the sins which tempt us and that our country may have unity not only in war, but also in peace and thus be an inspiration to those brave men and women who art writing the most gallant epic of history. Be unto us a voice that we cannot forget, an unseen companion and a breath of sweet fragrance against the storm. In this, the world's evil days, be Thou with our President, our Speaker, and the Congress, and give strength to all anxious hearts and expectant minds. In the name of our Redeemer. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday, November 26, 1943, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 3070. An act to repeal the chinese exclusion acts, to establish quotas, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Vice President had appointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. BREWSTER members of the joint select committee on the part of the Senate, as provided for in the act of August 5, 1939, entitled "An act to provide for the disposition of certain records of the United States Government," for the disposition of executive papers in the following departments and agencies:

Department of Agriculture.
 Department of Commerce.
 Department of the Navy.
 Department of War.
 Federal Trade Commission.
 Federal Security Agency.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix and include some excerpts from an analysis of the pending civil aviation bill made by the gentleman from California [Mr. LEA].

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?
 There was no objection.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. SCRIVNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that tomorrow, after the disposition of business and other special orders I be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?
 There was no objection.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that after other special orders today, the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] may be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?
 There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include an article from the Dallas News on lend-lease and reverse.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?
 There was no objection.

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?
 There was no objection.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. WINTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that tomorrow my colleague the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. MERROW] be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes,

after the disposition of business and other special orders.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WINTER. Also, Mr. Speaker, after the other special orders today, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?
 There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include three letters received by me from the chamber of commerce at Glens Falls, N. Y.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?
 There was no objection.

"HAWG" HOCKS AND THE CAMPAIGN FOR CONGRESS

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?
 There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, I have in my hand a little package mailed to me by one of my good constituents addressed:

"Hawg" hocks. For Congressman "Piggy" F. L. (Win the War) CRAWFORD.

Mr. Speaker, the campaign for mailing Congressmen hog hocks is promoted by another of a long line of ex-Government economists named Faught, of Detroit, and formerly a so-called information specialist for the War Food Administration.

Economist Faught apparently envisions himself as a modern Samson, using the inflation-scare propaganda to damage agriculture as the strong man of old set fire to the foxes to destroy the crops, and then he hopes to use hog hocks instead of the jawbone of an ass hoping to slay Michigan Representatives in Congress who voted against subsidies. Newspaper publicity indicates Faught is modeling his campaign after the "Bundles for Congress" drive.

Subsidies as proposed further hock our future, and perhaps Mr. Faught has picked an appropriate symbol.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include an article from the Indianapolis Herald.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?
 There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, and extend my remarks by including a letter that I have received, and the text of a resolution which I propose.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?
 There was no objection.

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, correspondents in foreign theaters of war and home newspaper commentators have been forecasting within the last 24 hours that the next move of the United Nations probably will be along psychologi-

cal lines to try to induce the suffering nationals of Axis-ridden countries to see the necessity of overthrowing their tyrannical rulers and joining in creating a peaceful world of self-governing peoples.

This psychological effort which the commentators assert is in the immediate offing and which is heralded as an approaching event of the most portentous importance, may be the means of ending the war.

An expression now by the Congress of the United States, representing the people of America, might be of tremendous assistance in putting this psychological effort across to successful consummation.

This suggests the propriety and wisdom of adopting House Concurrent Resolution No. 50 which I have introduced to welcome the people of Italy to the family of liberated nations and expressing our sincere sympathy for all Nazi-ruled victims everywhere.

The State Department and the Office of War Information have both endorsed my resolution. For the State Department, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Under Secretary of State, advises that he concurs in the sense of the resolution. He says:

The resolution has been carefully read and I find no conflict with the foreign policy of this Government. It embodies the spirit of the Atlantic Charter with respect to the people of defeated countries and also reflects, I am convinced, the attitude of the great majority of American citizens toward the unfortunate Italian people.

The Office of War Information is anxious to secure the adoption of the resolution for propaganda use, believing it would be very valuable for psychological purposes.

The resolution has been pending in the House Foreign Affairs Committee since September 21. I hope that all Members of the House will take note of it and express their interest and approval to the Foreign Affairs Committee. I hope that Congress, which has a great responsibility to our people, as well as to the world will express the people's will in this matter. I appeal to Congress to adopt this resolution so that we as the representatives of the people of America may do our part toward bringing to a successful conclusion the war which is consuming in its flames the lives of many of our precious boys, breaking millions of hearts and drenching the world in blood.

The text of House Concurrent Resolution 50 is as follows:

Whereas the Congress of the United States, democratically elected by the people, is in a position to convey to the people of Italy, the victims of Fascist rule, and to downtrodden, oppressed peoples everywhere, our Nation's sympathy and friendship for them: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring). That the Congress of the United States, speaking in behalf of the people who elected it, welcomes the people of Italy to the family of liberated nations. We congratulate them on the overthrow of the horrors and slavery of fascism. We sympathize with them in the struggle that is before them in reclaiming their country from the

Nazi invader and in reconstructing their nation. In the cosmic evolution that is going on the might of America is pledged to support, by all reasonable and constitutional means, the freedom, peace, and security of all right-thinking and right-doing men. We hail the overthrow of fascism in Italy as the dawn of freedom for all of the Axis-ridden countries and as pointing the way to the final consummation of a peaceful world of self-governing peoples.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by two insertions on the civil aviation bill, in one instance by inserting a resolution, and in the other a letter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix and include an editorial that appeared in the New York Times of Sunday, November 28, 1943, by Edwin L. James.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that after the disposition of business and other special orders I be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix and to include therein a set of resolutions adopted by the Chamber of Commerce of Ottumwa, Iowa.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Speaker, I have two requests. I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix and include a letter from the Secretary of State on the circumstances pertaining to the shipment of certain rubber to Sweden; and, secondly, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix and include an article that appeared in a magazine of the South Dakota State Penitentiary, proposing a plan for the use of inmates of penitentiaries in the armed forces.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. POULSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that, after the regular business on the Speaker's table today and the special orders, I be permitted to address the House for 25 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday next, after the regular business on the Speaker's desk and the special orders, I be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

O. P. A. AND THE CHURCH, BUSINESS, AND UNION ORGANIZERS

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may extend my own remarks in the RECORD at this point. I understand there is no legislative business.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, a reference to the Appendix of the RECORD of March 19, pages A1307-A1308, will show that union organizers living in Detroit seeking to compel men driving their own equipment, and others who did not own their own equipment but driving delivery trucks, all seeking to deliver milk to customers, including stores, in Port Huron, Mich., received almost unlimited gasoline to enable them to drive from Detroit to Port Huron and to, in Port Huron, follow milk trucks about the city. These so-called union organizers, some of whom had been convicted of various offenses, made a practice of following milk trucks about the city of Port Huron calling upon their customers to whom deliveries were made and endeavoring to intimidate them.

They called upon storekeepers and, it is reported, threatened to picket the stores if they continued to take milk from men who refused to pay tribute to the union.

Of the so-called union organizers, three were allocated gasoline sufficient to enable them to travel 3,000 miles per month. Several others received a sufficient allotment to travel 2,000 or 1,000 miles each.

You will find the figures set forth on page 3259 of the RECORD of April 10, 1943.

HOLLAND, MICH.

In Holland, Ottawa County, Mich., for many, many years members of the Harrington family maintained a coal business. The widow of one of the older Harrington's, Mrs. Austin Harrington, two of the sons, Harry and Carl, still maintain that business and prior to April 5 of this year they supplied about 80 percent of the industrial coal tonnage used in the city of Holland. The industrial plants to which they supplied coal were working, to a large extent, on Government war contracts.

Around about the first of April representatives of the teamsters union came in from Grand Rapids—some 20 miles away—and attempted to organize the Holland drivers. There was no dispute as to hours, wages, or working conditions and the drivers working for the Harringtons did not wish, in fact, they refused, to join the union. The union picketed the Harrington yard but they had no effect, the men still refused to join so the pickets transferred their activities to the industrial plants which purchased coal from the Harringtons.

They threatened to picket incoming material, the outgoing finished products, and so Harrington customers, many of them of long years' standing, quit purchasing coal of Harrington and Harringtons have lost the business.

Here is an illustration of how the "four freedoms" do not work in Holland, Ottawa County, Mich. Here is an illustration of how the President stands behind his political allies, refuses to permit legislation which would end sympathetic strikes, correct the abuses which are carried on under the Norris-LaGuardia Act, and outlaw attempts to create monopolies.

Why, just why should Harrington's business be destroyed or damaged because free-born American citizens working for him, do not choose to pay racketeers from Grand Rapids, Mich., for the privilege of earning a livelihood? The hypocrisy, the complete insincerity of the administration, which is carrying on a war to, as it says, carry the "four freedoms" to every benighted people in the world, is demonstrated by these two incidents which can be multiplied thousands of times throughout the country.

The unions are collecting millions of dollars from men who do not want to pay, whose only desire is to work at the job which they have found, for the wages they can obtain under the conditions which satisfy them. Yet, the union politicians yell their heads off about the roll-back in the cost of living.

They might start the roll-back by ending the practice of levying tribute of around \$1 and \$1.50 a month on workers who want no truck with them. That \$12 to \$18 per year which every union man is compelled to pay in addition to his initiation fees and special assessments, would help out on the grocery bill.

Now, for a moment take a look at another side of the picture, these union organizers, so-called, have been getting all the gasoline they need, to drive from Grand Rapids to Holland, traveling at least 50 miles a day on a useless, unnecessary, destructive errand. They drive around town following loads of coal that leave the Harrington yard to make certain that it does not go to Holland industrial plants.

But when a minister of the Gospel wants gasoline to get to his people, or to preach a funeral sermon, or bring a parishioner to the cemetery, that is something else again.

In the Pontiac Daily Press of Friday, on the front page, I find a picture captioned "Gasless pastor and followers picket O. P. A. office." It shows a line of pickets protesting the denial of gasoline to their pastor.

Detroit papers carry similar information stating there are 50 pickets in the line. According to the press, the pastor, Rev. Dr. Leland L. Marion, represents one of the largest churches in Pontiac. He also represents other congregations in the State.

In July 1943, he claims he applied for gasoline and that under the rules he, as a minister, should have been issued a C book. A Mr. A. J. Diebel said to be the head of the Pontiac local O. P. A. office ruled that he was only entitled to a B book. Not satisfied, the minister called upon Diebel and reported that he was told "Your work, Dr. Marion, as pastor of a church is not fundamental to the war effort. I am not concerned about the

churches. I am concerned about getting gasoline for the men who work in shops. In 60 days there will be no gasoline for churches and similar enterprises, and the quicker the churches close up the better it will be anyway."

The pastor continued his efforts, going he says, seven times to the O. P. A. headquarters but so far he has been unable to even get a definite reply from the board or a conference with Diebel.

The pastor writes:

What has been the result of this red tape, arrogance, stupidity, and anti-Christian attitude on the part of the O. P. A.? Not only have I been deprived of my gasoline ration, but in order to bury the dead and preach the Gospel and call on the mothers of newborn babes and comfort the loved ones of wounded and killed men in the armed services, it has been necessary for me to violate the rules and accept the generosity of my parishioners as respects gasoline.

What a contrast. O. P. A. gives rationed gasoline to men who drive day after day in an effort to force those working in defense industries to pay tribute for the privilege of working therein. They drive hundreds of miles to take from the workingmen's pay checks dues to further their own activities, their own political ambitions, but when a minister asks for gasoline to hold Divine services, to attend the sick, to assist in burying the dead, his request is denied and he is told, according to his statement, that the quicker the churches close up, the better it will be anyway. What cheering news to the men on the battle front.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Thursday and Friday next, upon the conclusion of the legislative business, I be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

THE PRICE OF COAL

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, the Administrator of Economic Stabilization has just announced an increase in the price of coal. Of course, that increase was necessary following the increased wages that were recently approved for coal miners. Possibly these wage increases were justified. I do not claim to know, but I do know that the miners were receiving \$1 per hour before the increase and that even with 20-cent cotton the average cotton farmer is realizing only one-fifth that amount for his labor.

The truth is that the wages of agricultural workers were so much lower than the wages of any other workers that even a small daily increase has resulted in more than doubling the total cost of labor in farm production. You can no more make a crop without labor than you can dig coal without labor. Why should not the producer of food products be given the same treatment that is accorded the producers of coal? This

House has passed a bill to include farm labor in the calculation of parity. No one dares challenge the justice of this bill, but we are told that it is inflationary. What about the inflationary effect of the increased coal prices?

Mr. Speaker, the farmers of America are entitled to fair treatment. They ask no more, but insist that they be given the same treatment that is accorded to others.

JOHN W. PRESTON AND ANNETTE ABBOTT ADAMS

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that H. R. 2508, a bill for the relief of John W. Preston, and Annette Abbott Adams, be restored to the Private Calendar.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

ABSENTEE SOLDIERS' VOTING

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, it seems that the Communist Party has secured the assistance of Walter Winchell in trying to browbeat the Congress into taking the election machinery away from the various States.

Last night he tried to mislead the American people to believe that the bill we are offering as a substitute would prevent soldiers from voting by absentee ballots when, in fact, it would have the very opposite effect.

This morning's issue of PM, the up-town edition of the Communist Daily Worker, comes out and accuses the Republicans and southern Democrats of trying to deprive American soldiers of the right to vote; whereas what we are trying to do is to make it possible for them to vote and to retain the voting machinery in the hands of the various States.

My God, does the American soldier have to look to this Communist publication for protection against red-blooded Americans in Congress in their right to cast an honest ballot?

The men in our armed forces are not deceived by such "bunk." They want the election machinery retained in the hands of their respective States. That is one of the things they are fighting for and that is what we propose to do.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. WORLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WORLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have no desire whatever to enter into a debate between the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] and Mr. Winchell. I think each is equally able to care for himself, regardless of the possession of facts or otherwise. I would like to say however that so far as I am personally concerned, I would like to see the States handle the entire matter of soldiers' voting. Sev-

eral months have been spent, not only by myself, but by representatives of the War and Navy Departments in an effort to work out provisions whereby the men overseas will be permitted to exercise the God-given right to vote. We have not yet been able to work out any satisfactory solution which will permit them to fully exercise their right of suffrage.

Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WORLEY. I will yield if I have time later on. I do not question the sincerity of the gentleman from Mississippi and I would like to go right along down the line with him, but I would like to quote on that point an official communication from the War Department which will show the practical impossibility of the plan advocated by the gentleman from Mississippi.

The Army alone is now carrying by air some 700,000 pieces of mail a day, in addition to some 620,000 V-mail letters a day (average figures based on a recent month).

Even with the use of air mail and air priority, the State absentee balloting procedure as provided by existing State laws would not allow any substantial number of votes cast by servicemen overseas to be counted in State primaries and elections.

It is not a question of desires on our part. It is a question of the physical impossibility of getting the State absentee ballots to the men in Guadalcanal, north Africa, and other places overseas.

Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WORLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. You can get those ballots to the men in the service quicker under our bill, the Rankin-Eastland-McKellar-McClellan bill, than you can under the Lucas-Worley bill.

In addition, ours will take the ballots to cover State and county officials and bring them back without a Federal Commission interfering with them, and more servicemen would vote as a result. We would get more ballots to the soldiers and get them back quicker under the Rankin-Eastland resolution than you would under this long drawn-out 21-page document that they are trying to bring out here to turn the election machinery of the country over to a Federal commission.

Mr. WORLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a statement from the War Department relative to overseas balloting.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered. Members may insert their remarks at this point in the RECORD, if they desire today, as there is no legislative program.

There was no objection.

The statement referred to is as follows:

STATEMENT BY COL. ROBERT CUTLER BEFORE THE MEETING OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT, AND REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS NOVEMBER 16, 1943

(Present: Messrs. WORLEY, RANKIN, MAN-ASCO, GIBSON, HOCH, LESINSKI, GAMBLE, LE-COMTE, ELLSWORTH, VURSELL, GAVIN.)

After the introduction of the joint report of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy November 13, 1943, on House Con-

current Resolution 49, which was read to the committee by the chairman, Colonel Cutler, in response to question from the chairman, stated (in behalf of the Army and Navy) as follows:

"The services' position in regard to the air-mail carriage proposed under title I of the Green-Lucas bill is that, in regard to one election, it may be possible, subject to military necessity, to bulk carry blank air-mail ballots to almost all servicemen and to bulk carry executed air-mail ballots back to the United States.

"Such an undertaking is entirely different from the air carriage of individual applications for State absentee ballots and individual State absentee ballots (a total of at least three separate carriages for each serviceman) in respect to 46 State primaries and a general election, held on more than 26 different dates over a period extending from April into November. The burden on air-mail facilities under this latter procedure would not only be three times as heavy but it would be diffused in an infinity of individual carriages spread over a long period of months. Such a burden could not be sustained by air-mail facilities.

"What makes the procedure proposed under title I of the Green-Lucas bill a reasonable possibility is that it involves one bulk carriage overseas at a time selected at the service's convenience, and one bulk carriage back to America. Any procedure more onerous than this would, for overseas carriage, if it involved any considerable volume, raise the greatest difficulties for the services and interfere with their primary duties.

"There is another difficulty with the State absentee balloting procedure under State laws now in effect. (The figures which I am using are, I believe, reliable, but owing to the great diversity of State laws, should be checked up to date). Seven States apparently do not permit absentee voting for Federal candidates in primaries. Three other States apparently permit absentee voting only if the absentee is within the United States (as to two of these States, only if the absentee is physically within the State itself). Eleven States apparently allow only 20 days or less between the date when an absentee voter's application may be formally received by the State officials and the date on which his executed ballot must be received back by the State officials. Thirty-three States apparently allow an interval of only 30 days or less. Some 14 of these States appear to require that a particular form of application for absentee ballot, furnished by the State, be used by the absentee voter and do not recognize as an adequate application the post card form of application provided by the Ramsay Act. Such States, on receiving such a post card, would send to the absentee, not the desired ballot, but merely a form of application to be made out and sent back by the absentee before the absentee ballot will be sent. And, in addition, many States which will formally receive the absentee's application an adequate number of days before the election, will not dispatch the ballot itself to the absentee (because the candidates will not be known and the ballot accordingly will not be printed) until a more limited number of days (in some instances 15 or less) before this election. All of these restrictions tend effectively to negative the possibility of servicemen outside the United States voting in State primaries and elections by use of the existing State absentee voting procedure.

"I have obtained information from the proper Army authorities as to the time of air-mail carriage from various points overseas, where considerable bodies of our troops are now located, to a central point in the United States (Springfield, Ill.). For obvious reasons, I cannot here state where these overseas points are. But I can give instances of

the respective time of carriage to illustrate the difficult problem involved. In stating these times of carriage, I am giving the average time of carriage based on a long period of experience. Obviously for one particular emergency carriage, weather and military conditions permitting, the time of carriage could very materially be shortened. I emphasize the words "one particular emergency carriage." Such a special short-time carriage could not practically be repeated at frequent intervals.

	Days
From an oversea point in the North American area to Springfield, Ill.....	6
From an oversea point in the European theater to Springfield, Ill.....	11
From an oversea point in the Pacific theater to Springfield, Ill.....	13
From an oversea point in the Far East area (longest carriage) to Springfield, Ill.....	16

"I wish to repeat that the foregoing are average times of air-mail carriage, based on actual experience over a long period of time, and are the carriage times which are properly applicable in considering the individual carriage by air mail of State absentee ballot applications and ballots over a period of 6 to 7 months. These are not the carriage times to be considered in relation to one particular emergency carriage of ballots in bulk, where the carriage time could reasonably be halved or, under favorable conditions, be made even more short.

"It is to be remembered, however, that the State absentee balloting procedure involves at least three carriages for each serviceman (and in 14 States, apparently, 5 carriages). The minimum carriages involved are: The post-card application from the serviceman to the State; the blank ballot from the State to the serviceman; the executed ballot from the serviceman to the State. Relating this triple carriage to the times of carriage I have stated above in regard to four points overseas, and allowing four additional days for action by the servicemen and the State officials—which is certainly an irreducible minimum—the following carriage times, plus four added days, would be involved through use of the existing State absentee balloting procedure.

	Days
Overseas point in North American area..	22
Overseas point in European theater.....	37
Overseas point in Pacific theater.....	43
Overseas point in Far East area.....	52

"In such States as require the use of a particular State application form, and hence five carriages, the times stated would be increased by 40 percent at least.

"It should also be observed that, as regards any servicemen overseas, the only address available to a secretary of state will be the overseas serviceman's organization and A. P. O. number. For reasons of security, the Army cannot identify to any secretary of state the geographical location of an overseas A. P. O. number. Accordingly, a State forwarding to any serviceman overseas the State absentee ballot would have to assume that the longest carriage time (52 days, or in States where five carriages must be made, 73 days) may be applicable.

"Furthermore, it should be observed that air priority refers to priority in space on a regularly scheduled flight. That is, air priority means that material other than that given priority will be taken off the carrying plane to make room for the material having such priority. Air priority does not imply that the service can or will furnish special planes to carry priority material in some more expeditious time than the regular air-carriage schedules provide.

"The Army alone is now carrying by air some 700,000 pieces of mail a day, in addition

to some 620,000 V-mail letters a day (average figures based on a recent month).

"Even with the use of air mail and air priority, the State absentee balloting procedure, as provided by existing State laws, would not allow any substantial number of votes cast by servicemen overseas to be counted in State primaries and elections."

In answer to a suggestion that applications for State absentee ballot applications and State absentee ballots might be sent by the services direct to each serviceman, Colonel Cutler stated in substance as follows:

"The Army cannot, in view of its wartime responsibilities, undertake to furnish as of a given date or dates a roster, by States, of the names and military addresses of all men in the service.

"Such an undertaking would be precluded, in many cases, by the requirements of military security.

"Apart from security, it would not be practically possible under war conditions to make such a roster."

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that in extending the remarks I have made, I may include certain excerpts from this bill, and also a table showing the flying hours between points in this country and points where our servicemen are situated.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. BURGIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include certain excerpts.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. J. LEROY JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include an editorial from the Richmond Banner.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

(Mr. PLUMLEY asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. DISNEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD twice, in one to insert an address by Charles E. Wilson and in the other to insert an address by Ralph Bard.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a radio speech I made recently.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA LEGISLATION IN ORDER ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1943

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it may be in order tomorrow for the House to consider

District of Columbia bills under the Rules of the House.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Under the previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. VURSELL] is recognized for 30 minutes.

THE SOLDIERS' VOTE

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert at the conclusion of my remarks the so-called Lucas-Worley bill which has been mentioned and also House Joint Resolution 190.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, I secured this 30 minutes' time this afternoon for the purpose of provoking thought in an exchange of ideas among the Members of the House in an effort to find the best possible course the Congress should take in attempting to give the men and women of our armed forces an opportunity to vote in the November election of 1944, believing that it is the duty of this body so far as it lies within our power to try to legislate in a sound, practical, and legal manner to that end.

Mr. Speaker, being a Member of the Election Committee of the House, with others of my colleagues, I would like to say that we have spent many days hearing a great deal of testimony in an effort to determine whether the so-called Lucas-Worley bill is the proper and sound approach to this matter and whether it can be legally enacted into law to this end. I would like to further report to the Members of the House that after a great deal of painstaking care, and listening to testimony by all of the proponents of the bill, including testimony given by high ranking officials of the Army and Navy, a substantial majority of the committee believe the Lucas-Worley bill is not a sound, proper, and workable answer to this most difficult question. Finally being convinced that the bill referred to is not the proper approach to the subject, by a substantial majority, our committee has offered a different approach and are now perfecting House Joint Resolution 190, which, we believe, when further implemented, will provide a means for the soldiers to vote through the operation of the various State election laws through the absentee ballot systems now established in the various States, which will make it unnecessary to allow the Federal Government to step in establishing a Federal bureaucracy of election machinery as proposed in the Lucas-Worley bill. When we have perfected this resolution which is now before our committee, we believe that it offers the greatest opportunity, and the only opportunity, for the soldiers to make use of the ballot in deciding this election referred to without violating the Federal Constitution and in a manner that will obviate the necessity of violating any of the constitutions or laws of any of the several

States. We are confident that this second approach to the matter is sound and workable and will make it possible for the men and women of the armed forces to vote by the absentee-ballot method, vote the whole ticket with all of the names on it from the lowest office to the Presidential candidates, secretly, legally, with little or no opportunity for fraud or coercion.

First, I would like to point out what seems to me some of the important barriers to the enactment of the Lucas-Worley bill. Every Member of this House, in taking his oath of office, has sworn to uphold the Constitution. For my part, I want to live up to that oath—I intend to do so. There is little question but that the Lucas-Worley bill would violate the Constitution of the United States, usurp powers, and violate the Constitution and the laws of many of the States of the Union. If you will read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, where this bill is still under consideration in another body, and read the very able debates which have occurred there, you will find that even the proponents of the bill there appear to be not certain that the bill is constitutional. Further reading of the debates will disclose that many able Members of that body raise grave doubts as to its constitutionality.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. VURSELL. I shall be pleased to yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. It unquestionably violates or attempts to wipe out section 2, article I of the Constitution of the United States, the very first provision written into the Constitution relating to Government policy. It states:

The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

That same provision was written into the seventeenth amendment 130 years later. All the great judges and statesmen we had during that time have agreed that it was a most salutary provision; yet the Lucas-Worley bill would wipe that provision out and not only set up a separate qualification, but would force us to go to the double expense of sending two separate ballots or deny to the soldiers the right to vote in State and county elections.

Mr. WORLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VURSELL. I yield.

Mr. WORLEY. I have no desire to take all the gentleman's time arguing with the gentleman from Mississippi, but I would like to ask if he would object to having inserted at the beginning of his remarks a copy of the committee print which the committee has been considering, in conjunction with the original bill. Would the gentleman object to that?

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman would yield, the gentleman

from Texas [Mr. WORLEY] has permission to insert that in his own remarks.

Mr. WORLEY. I am asking for permission to put it in at the same point the gentleman puts his in so that a comparison can be made between the original bill and the draft which the committee is considering. That point of doing away with the necessity for registration and the payment of a poll tax are questions which were passed on by the last session of Congress and overwhelmingly agreed to; is not that correct?

Mr. RANKIN. But that crazy law has not been passed on by the courts. The chances are that the courts will throw it out, and then if this Worley-Lucas bill were attached to it, the soldiers might have no authority to vote by absentee ballot at all.

Mr. VURSELL. Replying to the request of the gentleman from Texas I may say that I prefer that he extend it in his own remarks because it does not fit into mine.

There has been testimony before our committee from Members of this body, and I refer particularly to our colleague the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. HULL], a former secretary of state of Wisconsin, who is very familiar with the State election laws of Wisconsin, who testified before our committee that it would be practically impossible for the State of Wisconsin to comply with the Lucas-Worley bill.

Mr. J. LEROY JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VURSELL. I yield.

Mr. J. LEROY JOHNSON. That same view is held by Mr. Jordan, secretary of state of California, with reference to the application of the Lucas bill and its effect on the California election machinery.

Mr. VURSELL. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

Aside from the legal objections to the bill, our committee found most serious objections to the form of the ballot. Let us keep in mind that the purpose of this bill is to give the soldiers a right to vote and make their choice for Federal officials including the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives. I think it will interest the Members of Congress to know that the ballot provided for under this bill does not contain the single name of a candidate.

I wonder just how much the men, who are fighting on the battle fronts of the world for the freedom of this country and who are expecting to receive a ballot from their home precinct and county, will be disappointed when they receive this abbreviated and anonymous sheet of paper wherein they are to express their choice for these offices and to their great surprise they will find that there is not a single name on the ballot. The bill provides that if you know who is running for President you may write in his name or, if you do not, you may signify your choice by writing in the name "Republican" or "Democrat" in the space where the name should be and which the soldier may not know. I ask you, is this an

intelligent approach to the question? Likewise, if he knows the name of the Senator of either party he shall write in the name if he chooses, or if he does not know who is running for Senator in his State, he indicates his party preference by writing in the name of "Republican" or "Democrat," and the vote is so counted for the Senator of his choice.

When it comes to voting for candidates for Congressmen at Large or for Members of the House of Representatives from the various congressional districts, if the soldier knows the name of the candidate for Congress he should write in the name—if he does not know the name his only chance to make a selection is to write in his party preference.

Clearly, this so-called ballot is not a real ballot in any sense of the word. Notwithstanding the sentimental boasts of some of its proponents of their desire to give the soldier an opportunity to vote, it may deceive the relatives and friends of the soldiers at home in their belief that the proponents of this bill are trying to give the soldiers a chance to vote the entire ballot and creates the false impression that we who oppose the measure and who are trying to get the whole ballot to the soldiers are opposed to the soldiers voting.

The proponents of the bill have not once told the public that it is really not a real ballot and that not a name of a candidate will be on the slip of paper sent to the soldier which they refer to as a ballot.

I want to ask the Members of this body, if, in their opinion, 1 soldier out of 10, unless he receives letters giving him the information from his folks at home, will know the name of the candidate for Congress from his district. A great many of the citizens at home at this coming election, unless they are familiarized with the name of the congressional candidate on the ballot would not remember the name so he could write it in. This being the case, how do you expect these young men and women, thousands of miles away from home who have been in the military service and out of the United States for a year or two to appreciate such a ballot and to be able to vote with sufficient knowledge to make a proper choice?

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VURSELL. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN. I want to show what this Worley bill the gentleman from Texas has talked so much about does. I call attention particularly to subparagraph (d) of section 117 which reads:

(d) In certifying the appointment of the electors of President and Vice President under section 2 of the act of May 29, 1928 (U. S. C., title 3, sec. 7a) the executive of each State shall also certify that there has been substantial compliance by officials in such State with the provisions of this title. If the executive of the State does not make such certification or if the United States War Ballots Commission certifies—

And this might be by a vote of 3 to 2—that there has not been substantial compliance by officials in such State with the

provisions of this title, the Senate and House of Representatives, acting separately, shall concurrently decide whether the noncompliance so affected the appointment of electors in the State as to require such appointment to be treated as invalid.

In other words, it authorizes us to go ahead and set aside the election of any State in the Union if perchance it is contended that all of the orders of this Federal election commission have not been complied with.

Mr. VURSELL. I think the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] has put his finger right on one of the objections to the bill I referred to previously.

Mr. WORLEY. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. VURSELL. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. WORLEY. Again I apologize for taking up the gentleman's time, but in answer to that point, is it not a fact that the Congress has always assumed its right and power to pass upon the returns of any State so far as the election of Federal officials is concerned since the time of the Tilden-Hayes contest? There is no question but what the Congress has that power. That language in the bill is surplusage.

Mr. VURSELL. That is true. So far as I know, the gentleman's statement may be correct, but in this act we are setting up an opportunity for the Congress to declare this election null and void, or throwing it into the House of Representatives or into the Supreme Court.

Mr. RANKIN. I may say to the gentleman from Illinois that in the Hayes-Tilden contest it was decided that the Congress did not have the right to go behind the election returns. There were two sets of returns from the States of Louisiana and Florida and the question was which set of returns would be recognized.

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, the majority of our committee has taken the position that with the cooperation of the Army and Navy to expedite and speed up the delivery of the ballots, with the proper cooperation of the States under existing laws—and in this connection I may say that doubtless several of the States will further implement their local elections laws in order to assure the soldier of an opportunity to vote—that under existing State laws with such cooperation we can send the soldier the ballot direct from his precinct, the whole ballot containing the names of all the candidates from the county officers to the President of the United States. It will be to him like a letter from home—it will give him a chance to help to make the democracy work that he is fighting to preserve—it will greatly encourage his morale.

On the other hand, being thousands of miles away from home and expecting to receive a ballot where he can vote for his friends and neighbors from his county, for his Congressman, and for his choice for President, if and when he does receive this blank and anonymous ballot, undoubtedly it will be a great disappointment to him.

Now in a few words let me tell you what we propose to do under House Joint Resolution 190. There has been prepared 11,000,000 post-card applications. During the past few months these post-card applications have been impounded on the various battle fronts of the world. Some 60 days prior to the election these post cards, under our plan, will be distributed to the men and women in the armed forces.

On one side of the post card is a request for an absentee ballot for the soldier to sign giving military address. On the other side is printed, "Secretary of State" with a blank space in which he shall write in the State in which he votes before mailing. These cards will be carried by air mail to the various secretaries of state of the several States. The secretary of state will immediately forward them to the various county clerks or election officials whose duty it is to send him an absentee ballot. In order to beat the time element the cards will be distributed on the battle fronts in time for them to reach their destination in the various precincts as early as the ballot is obtainable by the election official who will mail to him the ballot and enclose therewith an oath of qualification for the voter to sign, which oath of qualification is set out in our resolution.

The envelope carrying the ballot out to the soldier will have printed on the outside "Official election ballot." This will afford expeditious and free air-mail transportation to the soldier. After he has voted the ballot, signed and sworn to the qualification blank, he places them in the enclosed envelope upon the outside of which is printed "Official election ballot" for the purpose of designating that this official election ballot is entitled to air-mail service free, and it is returned to the county or city official, to be distributed to his precinct, where it will be counted on election day.

The only difficulty in the soldier making use of the absentee ballot voting laws of the States is the time element. You will note by our plan we reduce the time element by one-third with the postal-card application. We have left only one round trip from the precinct to the voter and back to the precinct. There are only 15 States in the Union whose primaries are held as late as September 15, with Louisiana and Utah early in October. All of the others are held from 2 to 4 months earlier, so you see these late primaries would give over 30 days in which to make this round trip with the ballot. In that connection, and to show you why we think it is possible to overcome this time element, I want to give you some figures which have been furnished me by the War Department, and these figures do not provide for speeding up the mail, but represent the average length of time to make such a round trip, even allowing the soldier 2 days in which to vote and the clerk 2 days in which to place the ballots with the proper precincts.

Location of soldier desiring to vote:

	Days
(a) Alaskan area:	
Nearest.....	14
Farthest.....	17
(b) Pacific area:	
Nearest.....	18
Farthest.....	30
(c) Canal Zone.....	13
(d) Caribbean area:	
Nearest.....	12
Farthest.....	16
(e) South Atlantic area:	
Nearest.....	14
Farthest.....	16
(f) Middle East area:	
Nearest.....	18
Farthest.....	20
(g) Persian Gulf area.....	22
(h) Far East area:	
Nearest.....	30
Farthest.....	46
(i) Mediterranean area:	
Nearest long haul.....	21
Nearest short haul.....	18
Farthest long haul.....	26
Farthest short haul.....	22
(j) North Atlantic area:	
Nearest.....	14
Farthest.....	24

Our resolution calls for the cooperation of the Army and the Navy in expediting the transportation of these ballots. Certainly they can cut these time limits, in some instances, to a considerable extent.

In this connection I want to give you a practical example of the speed with which air mail travels from Australia to the United States.

On Thanksgiving morning, November 25, I received this letter from Corp. George W. Emmett, from somewhere in Australia; on the outside of the envelope, which I hold in my hand, the postmark shows it passed through the Post Office in Australia on the 20th of November. Think of it—4 days by air mail from Australia to Washington, D. C. I am willing to admit that generally the time would likely be longer.

Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VURSELL. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. On that point, I consulted the Bureau of Civil Aeronautics and I was informed that they have a thumb rule to the effect that, counting all stops, commercial planes can travel to any of the principal points on the globe at the rate of 150 miles an hour. They sent me this table showing the number of hours it would take to go to different places:

To Fairbanks, Alaska, 13 hours; London, England, 13 hours and 48 minutes; Lima, Peru, 14 hours and 48 minutes; Rio de Janeiro, 19 hours; Moscow, Russia, 19 hours and 12 minutes; Honolulu, 20 hours and 12 minutes; Santiago, Chili, 21 hours; Buenos Aires, 21 hours and 36 minutes; Cairo, Egypt, 21 hours; Bombay, India, 32 hours; Cape Town, South Africa, 34 hours; Auckland New Zealand, 37 hours and 36 minutes; Manila, 37 hours plus; Sydney, Australia, 42 hours; Singapore, Malaya, 43 hours; Hong Kong, China, 44 hours.

That is under normal conditions. As a matter of fact, military planes fly much faster than do these commercial planes,

and at the same time they are not handicapped by stops on the way. I submit to the gentleman from Illinois that under our bill, House Joint Resolutions 190 and 196, and the McKellar-Eastland-McClellan substitute over in the Senate, these ballots from the various States could get to any soldier anywhere in the world and back in less than 2 weeks.

Mr. VURSELL. I thank the gentleman for his contribution. In my judgment, there is no question whatever but what the Army and Navy can and will help to expedite under this plan of ours as provided in the resolution and it will result in getting more ballots to the men and getting them back, thereby giving the men a real chance to vote, rather than under this monstrosity, this cumbersome bill that would require thousands of tons of freight to be sent over in envelopes, as would be the case under the bill that is now being discussed over in the other body known as the Lucas-Worley bill.

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VURSELL. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. Will the ballots sent out under House Joint Resolution 190 be the ballots provided by the various State laws? I must plead guilty that Connecticut has a very poor absentee-voter law. Our ballot has no names of candidates either. Would the law have to be amended?

Mr. VURSELL. It would probably have to be amended. I should like to submit to the Members of this House that the Governors of the States, the men and women of the various States of the Union, are interested in the soldiers voting. May I say that many of the State legislatures will be convened early in 1944. We hope and we believe that if we lay down a pattern in this resolution that many of the States will try to conform with it and it may be that some of the States will call a special session of the legislature. It is not too much to call a special session of the legislature because, after all, the people of the various States of this Nation are going to have to pay a tremendous cost in money in order to finance this colossal plan under their war balloting commission bill, and it will be cheaper and less drain upon the taxpayers if some of the States deem it wise to call a special session of the legislature in order to give these boys who are out fighting for our country a chance to vote.

Mr. MANASCO. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VURSELL. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. MANASCO. The same Constitution that preserves control of our elections in the hands of the States also insures freedom of speech and freedom of the press; is that true?

Mr. VURSELL. Yes.

Mr. MANASCO. If in carrying out our war effort we suspend the provisions of the Constitution that protects our election laws and preserves those to the State, could we not at the same time take

away freedom of speech and freedom of the press?

Mr. VURSELL. Yes; and in addition to that we open up the opportunity for considerable fraud, in my judgment, under the proposed war ballot commission.

Mr. MANASCO. If the Congress sets up the machinery to enable the States through their regular functions to send these ballots to the boys on the far-flung battle fronts, have we not discharged our obligation as Members of Congress and is not the responsibility for failure to comply with the act then shifted to the States?

Mr. VURSELL. The gentleman from Alabama is exactly correct. He has stated the problem in a sound manner. I believe the States generally will attempt to comply, and we can settle this proposition. We can give the soldiers a chance to vote within the framework of the Federal Constitution and the laws of the various States.

Ever since the beginning of this Republic it has been the duty of the States to provide for the holding of elections. Why should we usher in a bureaucracy now to override the interests of the States, when it will not give the soldiers a real ballot and will not give them an opportunity to vote in any greater numbers than under our resolution?

Mr. MANASCO. The gentleman will recall that in the election of 1864, when the country was engaged in a terrible civil war, the people who were interested in the elections then still respected the Constitution, and they provided for machinery to make it possible for the soldiers to vote under the State laws and not under Federal law.

Mr. VURSELL. May I point out that there is more involved in this proposed bill than the votes of the soldiers, unless it has been amended in the other body, and if it has I have not been so informed. It takes in all of the American citizens all over the world. You harness them in with the soldiers who are fighting and dying for this country. You take in Mr. Curran and the merchant marine and the employees of the O. W. I., who are over in India sowing discord there, even between our Government and one of our allies. You give them all a chance to come in and vote by this short and anomalous ballot. I am not in favor of harnessing this crowd up on the same footing with the soldiers of this country.

Mr. WORLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VURSELL. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. WORLEY. I think in all fairness to the Members of the House the gentleman should say that the committee bill, certainly my bill in the House, does not take in anyone except members of the armed forces.

Mr. VURSELL. In reply, I may say that I have read the committee bill this morning from over in the other body, and there is no indication as far as I know that it is stricken out. I am speaking particularly against the bill introduced in the other body.

Mr. WORLEY. The gentleman is speaking of the Senate bill, not the House bill. I think the House should be permitted to have the information as to what is contained in the House bill.

Mr. VURSELL. If the gentleman is correct, I shall be very glad to accept the correction.

Mr. WORLEY. I appreciate the gentleman's kindness.

Mr. RANKIN. If the gentleman will yield, that is merely a committee print that the gentleman from Texas had printed as a substitute for his own bill, but that committee print cannot be obtained in the document room. Therefore, the Members do not have access to it.

Mr. WORLEY. That is especially why the Members should have the benefit of that information, I may say to the gentleman from Mississippi.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER. If that is agreeable to the other Members who have special orders. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further for a suggestion?

Mr. VURSELL. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. They are trying to make the gentleman believe that it is the Army that is wanting to make this change. With all deference to Colonel Cutler, he is a Boston lawyer and a graduate of Harvard, and probably has a different slant on holding elections from that of our people down in the fork of the creek.

Mr. WORLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield so I may answer that one point?

Mr. VURSELL. Yes, briefly.

Mr. WORLEY. As the gentleman from Illinois knows, there have been two members, one from the Navy Department and one from the War Department. The gentleman representing the Navy Department has just come from about 8 or 10 months in the Pacific area and was in four major scraps, if that will give any comfort to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. Soldiers and sailors have come to our offices who have been all over the world. Practically every one of them said that this Worley-Lucas bill ought not to pass, that if we did anything we ought to pass the Rankin-Eastland substitute, to leave this election machinery in the hands of the States.

Mr. WORLEY. I think the gentleman is slightly prejudiced.

Mr. VURSELL. I cannot yield further, Mr. Speaker.

In fairness to officers of the Army and Navy, they express the belief that it will be very difficult to handle the transportation on account of the time limit.

Let us admit, for the sake of argument, that due to bad flying weather, which could happen and in some instances may

happen, that on the farthest reaches some of the men in our services may not get their ballots returned in time to be counted. Would it not be better to give those we can reach the whole ballot and a real chance to vote? I submit that it would.

Unfortunately, one of the proponents of the bill from my State is quoted in the press last week as stating in an interview he gave out "that the Republicans were not in favor of the soldiers voting and were trying to defeat the bill." That statement may indicate he is trying to use it as a political vehicle for his reelection even before it has been voted upon. In this enlightened age such charges will not pump any new life into his fast failing political fortunes in Illinois.

The very opposite is the case. Speaking for myself, and I believe for all of the Members on both sides of the aisle, I am anxious for all the soldiers to vote.

He doubtless wants the friends and relatives of the soldiers to believe that he is more anxious than some of us to give the soldiers a right to vote. He does not tell them that his plan does not give the soldiers a real ballot. He does not tell them that the blank ballot form he wants to send them does not have the name of a candidate on it.

And in this connection may I point out that three Democrats have joined in another place in introducing as a substitute to the Lucas-Green bill an amendment almost identical to the joint resolution we will recommend to this body. I am informed many able Members on both sides of that body are supporting it. This refutes the charge and proves our position is clearly nonpartisan.

No, the Republicans and Democrats who oppose this bill are not doing it to prevent the soldiers from voting. We are opposing it because we have sworn to uphold the Constitution and in an attempt to work out a plan that will give our men and women in the armed services a chance to vote a real ballot, the kind they want to vote and will appreciate.

Mr. Speaker, there is less glamor, less sentiment, and less political possibilities in this final thought I want to bring to this debate, but it is of transcending importance. It is this: Let us not overlook our responsibility to the 120,000,000 people here at home. It is our duty to preserve for them an orderly, legal election so that when the votes are cast in November 1944, and counted, we will know then who is elected and will not have to run the risk possibly of the election being thrown into the Supreme Court or into the Congress, with months of delay which would bring chaos to the entire Nation. The soldiers who are fighting for this Nation would be the last ones to want us to take a chance on such a situation.

This election naturally will be decided by the great majority of the voters who yet remain on the home front. It is my opinion that aside from the question of the constitutionality of the Lucas-Green-Worley bill that the people of the Nation will not approve the extension of the

Federal Government into this election by setting up a new bureaucratic Federal ballot control commission, overriding our present election laws of the various States.

House Joint Resolution 190

Joint resolution to facilitate absentee voting, under the laws of the several States, by members of the armed forces of the United States in time of war

Resolved, etc., That the Congress hereby expresses itself as favoring, and recommends to the several States the enactment of, appropriate legislation to enable each person absent from the place of his residence and serving in the armed forces of the United States, who is eligible to vote in any election district or precinct, to vote by absentee ballot in any general election held in his election district or precinct in time of war.

SEC. 2. It is further suggested and recommended, so as to facilitate such absentee voting by members of the armed forces—

(a) That the several States, in order to avoid expense, duplication of effort, and loss of time, honor applications for absentee ballots by absent voters in the armed forces made by the use of post cards printed pursuant to section 3 of the act of September 16, 1942 (Public, No. 712, 77th Cong.), of which some 11,000,000 have been prepared and are available for such purpose, notwithstanding that such cards refer to the ballot being applied for as an "official war ballot."

(b) That the secretary of state of each of the several States, upon receipt of any such post cards, promptly forward it to the proper county, city, or other election official or officials in order that the request for an absentee ballot may be acted upon as expeditiously as possible.

(c) That the several States cooperate to the end that county, city, or other election officials be authorized and instructed, upon receipt of an application made upon such a card, to mail promptly to the voter making the application, if legally permissible under the laws of the State, a suitable absentee ballot, including therewith a self-addressed envelope for the use of the voter in returning the ballot and any instructions to govern the use of such ballot and envelope.

(d) So that the envelope in which the ballot is sent to the voter, and the envelope supplied for the return of the ballot, may be identified by Post Office Department and other authorities as carrying an election ballot, that there be printed or stamped in a conspicuous place on each such envelope the words "Official election ballot." In the case of States in which no provision is made for sending with the absentee ballots a printed form to be used by a voter for the purpose of establishing his legal right to vote, that appropriate action be taken to have printed and enclosed with absentee ballots mailed in response to applications received on the post cards hereinbefore referred to, a form for the signature and oath or affirmation of the voter; and it is suggested that a form substantially as follows would be appropriate for such purpose:

OATH OF ELECTOR FOR VOTING IN THE GENERAL ELECTION TO BE HELD IN 194...

I do hereby swear (or affirm) that:

- (1) I am a citizen of the United States;
- (2) The date of my birth was _____;
- (3) For _____ years preceding this election my home residence has been in the State of _____;
- (4) For _____ years preceding this election my home residence has been in the (city, town, or village, if any) of _____ in the county of _____ at (street and number, if any, or rural route) _____;

(5) I am in the armed forces of the United States;

and that I have not voted and do not intend to vote in this election at any address other than the above; and that I have not received or offered, do not expect to receive, have not paid, offered or promised to pay, contribute, offered, or promised to contribute to another, to be paid or used, any money or other valuable thing as a compensation or reward for the giving of a vote at this election, and have not made any promise to influence the giving or withholding of any such vote; and that I have not been convicted of bribery or any infamous crime, or, if so convicted, that I have been pardoned or restored to all the rights of a citizen, without restriction as to the rights of suffrage.

(Voter must write his usual signature here and oath must be administered and attested)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 194...

Commissioned, noncommissioned, or petty officer not below the rank of sergeant (or its equivalent) shall write his name here.

Officer signing above shall print his rank or rating clearly here.

SEC. 3. (a) It shall, wherever practicable and compatible with military operations, be the duty of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to make available to members of the armed forces, at appropriate times, the post cards referred to in section 2, and to cooperate with appropriate State officers and agencies in the distribution, execution and attestation, collection, and return of such absentee ballots, and envelopes to be used in connection therewith, as may be provided under the laws of the several States for the use of persons in the armed forces in time of war.

(b) Such ballots and envelopes, and communications in connection therewith, including post cards, shall be transmitted free of postage, including air-mail postage, in the United States mails, and shall, so far as practicable, be transmitted by air mail.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure the information contained in the following letter will show the absolute fallacy of trying to make the Lucas-Worley bill fit into our State elections:

THE STATE OF WISCONSIN,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Madison, November 24, 1943.

HON. MERLIN HULL,
Member of Congress,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HULL: Mr. Zimmerman asked me to write you a supplementary letter in answer to your question as to what changes are necessary in the Wisconsin statutes before the Federal war ballot law, S. 1285 or H. R. 3436, can be given effect in this State. You probably have in mind sections of our statutes as cited in (a), (b), and (c), below.

(a) Section 6.25 (1), under which the county clerk is to print and distribute all ballots for county-wide use at Presidential, State, congressional, legislative, and county elections.

Under subsection (2) of this section, ballots not provided by county clerks are not to be cast or counted in any election.

(b) Section 6.41, under which ballots voted in person and not endorsed by ballot clerks or by the issuing town, city, village, or county clerk, when voted by mail, are void, and the penalty of \$250, or 1 year in the county jail,

is enforceable upon all election officials who receive and vote them.

(c) Section 11.62 forbids any absent voter's ballot, not endorsed by the issuing town, city, village or county clerk, to be accepted and counted at the polls, under penalty of \$100 in fine or 30 days in the county jail.

It would seem, therefore, that the war ballots if printed and distributed by the Army and Navy or by a Federal election commission, as provided in bill S. 1285, would be null and void in Wisconsin, though millions of dollars in tax money were spent in printing, distributing, and transporting them to the polls.

This bill, we understand, after a hearing, has now been returned to the Senate committee for a thorough overhauling.

Will it not, therefore, be wise at this point to pause and inquire through the highest legal or judicial sources as to the jurisdiction of Congress over:

1. The qualifications of electors;
2. The right of Congress to take over and conduct State elections in distant places of the earth;

3. The right of Congress to repeal State registration, as a convenient form of evidence of domicile in a particular municipality, as to members of the armed forces and at the same time to leave registration in force as to all other electors voting for Federal offices?

It appears to have been settled as early as 1874 and 1875 that the right to vote comes from the State and protection as to opportunity and equality in voting comes from the Nation. (*Minor v. Happersett* (1874), 21 Wall. 162; *United States v. Cruikshank* (1875), 92 U. S. 545 (556), cited by Norton's Constitution of the United States, p. 276.)

If you have other questions in mind which we have not answered, this department will be pleased to hear from you.

Very truly yours,

FRED R. ZIMMERMAN,
Secretary of State.

By GEO. BROWN,
Division of Records and Elections.

Mr. WORLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD a copy of the committee print of the bill H. R. 3436.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The committee print of the bill is as follows:

A bill to provide a method of voting, in time of war, by members of the armed forces absent from the place of their residence

Be it enacted, etc.—

TITLE I

SPECIAL METHOD OF VOTING IN TIME OF WAR UNITED STATES WAR BALLOT COMMISSION

SEC. 101. (a) There is established a United States War Ballot Commission (hereinafter referred to as the Commission), which shall be composed of four Commissioners, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to serve a term which shall not exceed the duration of the war and 6 months thereafter. Two Commissioners shall be members of the political party casting the largest popular vote, and two Commissioners shall be members of the political party casting the second largest popular vote, for Presidential electors in the most recent Presidential election. No Commissioner shall hold or be a candidate for any elective public office. The Commission shall elect from among its members a chairman and a vice chairman. Each Commissioner so appointed shall receive as compensation \$25 for each day in which he

is actually engaged in performing the duties of his office and shall also be reimbursed for any necessary expenses incurred in the performance of his duties. In the event of a tie vote in any matter before it, the Commission shall notify the President, and the President shall request the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to designate an Associate Justice (other than a retired Justice) of such Court, or a circuit judge (other than a retired judge) of the United States, or a justice (other than a retired justice) of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, to serve on the Commission for purposes of disposition of such matter, and the justice or judge so designated shall have power to act as temporary chairman of the Commission, with power to cast the deciding vote.

(b) The Commission is authorized to appoint, without regard to the Civil Service Act, rules and regulations, an Executive Director, and such other officers, employees, or agents as may be necessary for the performance of its duties under this act. The Commission may receive assistance from other Federal departments and agencies in carrying out the purposes of this act. The Commission may delegate such of its powers or duties under this act as may be necessary to carry out the purposes thereof.

(c) It shall be the duty of the Commission, acting so far as practicable in consultation with representatives of the War and Navy Departments and the other agencies and officials charged with the performance of duties under this act, to formulate such plans, make such arrangements, and adopt such measures not inconsistent with the purposes of this act as it may deem appropriate to further the purposes of this act and facilitate its administration. The Commission is authorized to investigate any alleged neglect, misconduct, or irregularity in the administration of this act, except that when the Commission becomes cognizant of any alleged neglect, misconduct, or irregularity in the administration of this act on the part of persons serving in the armed forces, the Commission shall report to the Secretary of War or to the Secretary of the Navy, as the case may be, who shall make investigation and report thereon to the Commission. As soon as practicable after any election to which the provisions of this title apply, the Commission shall report to the Congress on the administration of the act, including the number of ballots received by the Commission and transmitted to the secretaries of state of the several States, the reports received by the Commission from the secretaries of state and any neglect, misconduct, or irregularity found pursuant to this section. Any Commissioner disagreeing as to the contents of the report may set forth his separate views.

VOTERS ELIGIBLE UNDER THIS TITLE

SEC. 102. (a) As used in this act—

(1) The term "members of the armed forces of the United States" means members of the Army of the United States, the United States Navy, the United States Marine Corps, the United States Coast Guard, or any of their respective components.

(2) The term "United States" used geographically includes only the territorial limits of the several States of the United States and the District of Columbia.

(b) In time of war, notwithstanding any provision of State law relating to the registration of qualified voters, every individual who is a member of the armed forces of the United States, and who is absent from the place of his voting residence but otherwise eligible to register and qualified to vote under the law of the State of his voting residence in any election for electors of President and Vice President of the United States, United States Senators, and Representatives in Congress, shall be entitled to

vote for such officers in accordance with the provisions of this title.

PAYMENT OF POLL TAX NOT REQUIRED

SEC. 103. No member of the armed forces of the United States shall, in time of war, be required, as a condition of voting in any election for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Member of the House of Representatives, to pay any poll tax or other tax or make any other payment to any State or political subdivision thereof.

OFFICIAL FEDERAL WAR BALLOTS, ENVELOPES, AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR VOTING PROCEDURE

SEC. 104. (a) The commission shall cause to be prepared and printed for use in voting in general elections under this title an adequate number of official Federal war ballots. Each ballot shall be printed in the following form insofar as the officers enumerated are appropriate to the particular election:

OFFICIAL FEDERAL WAR BALLOT FOR USE IN GENERAL ELECTION TO BE HELD IN 19__

Instructions: To vote, write in the name of the candidate of your choice for each office, or write in the name of his political party—Democratic, Republican, or other.

ELECTORS OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(A vote for President includes a vote for Vice President of the same party)

Write in the name of your choice for President or the name of his party _____

UNITED STATES SENATOR

(Only if a Senator is to be elected in your State)

Write in the name of your choice for Senator or the name of his party _____

REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FOR YOUR DISTRICT

Write in the name of your choice for Representative in Congress for your district or the name of his party _____

REPRESENTATIVE AT LARGE IN CONGRESS FOR YOUR STATE

(Only in the States entitled thereto)

(Vote for one or two, as the case may be)

Write in the name or names of your choice for Representative at Large or the name of his party _____

A vote by party designation shall be deemed to be a vote for the candidate of that party by name. A vote for a Presidential candidate by name or by party shall be deemed to be a vote for the candidates for Presidential and Vice Presidential electors of his party. No ballot shall be invalid by reason of mistake or omission in writing in the name of the candidate or his political party where the candidate or party intended by the voter is plainly identifiable. Where, because of any defect in marking, a ballot is held invalid as to any particular candidate for office, it shall remain valid as to the other candidates for office.

(b) The commission shall also cause to be prepared and printed an appropriate number of official inner envelopes for use in enclosing and sealing the official Federal war ballots. Each such envelope shall be gummed ready for sealing. Upon one side of the envelope shall be printed:

OFFICIAL INNER ENVELOPE FOR OFFICIAL FEDERAL WAR BALLOT, FOR USE IN GENERAL ELECTION

Name of voter _____
(Print your name plainly here)

Home residence:

Street and number (if any) or rural route _____

(Print street and number or rural route plainly here)

City or town (if any) _____

(Print city or town plainly here)

County _____

(Print county plainly here)

Upon the other side of such envelope shall be printed the following oath at the top of which shall be set forth the date of the election:

OATH OF ELECTOR FOR VOTING IN THE GENERAL ELECTION TO BE HELD IN 19__

I do hereby swear (or affirm) that:

(1) I am a citizen of the United States;

(2) The date of my birth was _____

(3) For _____ years preceding this election my home residence has been in the State of _____

(4) For _____ years preceding this election my home residence has been in the (city, town, or village, if any) of _____ in the county of _____ at (street and number, if any, or rural route) _____

(5) I am in the armed forces of the United States; and that I have not voted and do not intend to vote in this election at any address other than the above; and that I have not received or offered, do not expect to receive, have not paid, offered or promised to pay, contributed, offered, or promised to contribute to another, to be paid or used, any money or other valuable thing as a compensation or reward for the giving of a vote at this election, and have not made any promise to influence the giving or withholding of any such vote; and that I have not been convicted of bribery or any infamous crime, or, if so convicted, that I have been pardoned or restored to all the rights of a citizen, without restriction as to the rights of suffrage.

(Voter must write his usual signature here and oath must be administered and attested.)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____ day of _____, 19__

(Commissioned, noncommissioned, or petty officer not below the rank of sergeant (or its equivalent) shall write his name here.)

(Officer signing above shall print his rank or rating clearly here.)

(c) The commission shall also cause to be prepared and printed an appropriate number of official outer envelopes for use in returning to the commission official Federal war ballots and official inner envelopes. Each such envelope shall be gummed ready for sealing. Upon such outer envelope the following shall be printed:

Free of all postage, including air mail (official Federal war ballot).

To the United States war ballot commission:
For transmission to the secretary of state of the State shown below:

Voter's home address:

Street and number (if any) or rural route _____

(Print clearly)

City or town (if any) _____

(Print clearly)

County _____

(Print clearly)

State _____

(Print clearly)

(d) Ballots and envelopes for use under this title shall be suitable for air mailing.

(e) The Commission shall also cause to be prepared and printed an adequate number of copies of instructions for voting procedure for use in accordance with the provisions of this title.

(f) Where the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy determines that the transmission abroad of any material required to be prepared and printed by the provisions of this section is inexpedient because of transportation difficulties or for other reasons arising from the conduct of the war, the Commission is authorized to arrange for such material to be printed outside the United States.

BALLOTING

SEC. 105. (a) Any person voting under the provisions of this title shall privately mark

the ballot, place it in the official inner envelope, and securely seal such envelope. He shall then fill in and subscribe the oath printed upon the official inner envelope. After the oath has been duly attested, the voter shall then place the official inner envelope in the official outer envelope, shall fill in and securely seal such outer envelope, and shall deliver it to a person designated by proper authority to receive executed ballots for transmission to the Commission.

(b) Any commissioned, noncommissioned, or petty officer not below the rank of sergeant (or its equivalent) in the armed forces of the United States is authorized to administer and attest such oaths as are required by this title. All such oaths shall constitute prima facie evidence that the voter is qualified to vote, unless the statements contained in such oath indicate the contrary.

ADMINISTRATION

SEC. 106. The Secretaries of War and Navy shall be responsible for the administration of this title with respect to members of the armed forces entitled to vote under this title.

TRANSMISSION OF FEDERAL BALLOTS, ENVELOPES, AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR VOTING PROCEDURE

SEC. 107. (a) In each year in which a general election for Senators and Representatives in Congress is to be held, the Commission shall furnish to the Secretaries of War and Navy, well in advance of the election, an adequate number of ballots, official inner envelopes, official outer envelopes, and instructions for voting procedure.

(b) The Secretaries of War and Navy shall, wherever practicable and compatible with military operations, transmit to the various units of the armed forces, in ample time to insure balloting under this title in such general election, an adequate number of ballots, official inner envelopes, official outer envelopes, and instructions for voting procedure, as furnished by the Commission.

LISTS OF CANDIDATES

SEC. 108. The secretary of state of each State shall furnish the Commission such information as the Commission shall request for compiling a list of candidates and their parties in any general election for President and Vice President or for Senators and Representatives in Congress. The Commission shall transmit to the Secretaries of War and Navy, at such times as it deems to be appropriate for balloting under this title, lists of candidates compiled from the information so received, even if incomplete. The Secretaries of War and Navy shall, in ample time for balloting under this title, transmit such lists to all units of the armed forces to the extent that such transmission is practicable and compatible with military operations. However, incomplete lists of candidates so furnished, or failure to furnish such lists, shall be no bar to balloting under the provisions of this title. No such list of candidates shall contain any information with respect to any candidate other than his name and address, his party affiliation, and the office for which he has been nominated.

DISTRIBUTION AND COLLECTION OF BALLOTS FOR MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES

SEC. 109. (a) The Secretaries of War and Navy, insofar as practicable and to the fullest extent compatible with military operations, shall cause ballots, official inner envelopes, official outer envelopes, instructions for voting procedure, and lists of candidates to be distributed to members of the armed forces in ample time to insure an opportunity to vote in general elections under this title and shall cause executed ballots to be collected and transmitted to the Commission.

(b) Wherever practicable and compatible with military operations the appropriate commanding officer shall be required—

(1) To designate a balloting day for voting in general elections which shall be, wherever possible, after he has received a list of candidates from all States, but which shall not be later than the date which the Commission may fix for the area in which his command is located;

(2) To cause lists of candidates to be posted and otherwise made available at conspicuous and convenient places prior to and on the balloting day and to cause copies of instructions for voting procedure and all other necessary information to be furnished to members of his unit;

(3) On the designated day, to cause official Federal war ballots and official envelopes to be distributed, to provide a convenient place for marking such ballots in secret, and to cause executed ballots to be collected and delivered for transmission to the Commission;

(4) To assume general responsibility for assuring that every voter in his unit has an opportunity to vote; and

(5) To destroy, as soon as practicable after the balloting day, all official Federal war ballots in his custody remaining unused.

PRIORITIES

SEC. 110. The Secretaries of War and Navy shall take all steps necessary to give to the transmission and delivery of official Federal war ballots, official envelopes, instructions for voting procedure, and communications under this title priority over all unofficial communications and priority over official communications except where, in the judgment of the appropriate military and naval authorities, such priority would interfere with the effective prosecution of the war. Ballots cast outside the United States shall, wherever practicable to expedite their delivery, be transmitted by air.

TRANSMISSION

SEC. 111. (a) The Commission, upon receiving any ballot cast under this title, shall promptly transmit it to the secretary of state of the State of the voter's residence, who shall at an appropriate time transmit it to the appropriate election officials of the district, precinct, or county or other voting unit of the voter's residence. No person other than such appropriate election officials shall open any official outer or inner envelope purporting to contain a ballot cast under this title.

(b) In order to expedite the transmission of ballots cast outside the United States to the appropriate election officials, the Commission may establish such regional offices as may be necessary to receive such ballots, sort them out, and forward them to the appropriate secretaries of state.

REPORTS

SEC. 112. (a) The Secretaries of War and Navy shall report to the Commission on balloting under this title, including the number of ballots distributed, received, and transmitted to the Commission, together with any comments thereon or explanation thereof.

(b) The Commission shall prepare a statement of all ballots received and transmitted to the various secretaries of state. Each secretary of state shall prepare an account of all ballots received by him and transmitted to the various election officials, who shall prepare accounts of all such ballots received and of all such ballots counted, and return such accounts to the secretary of state. Within 30 days after the last day for counting absentee ballots in any election in which ballots are cast under the provisions of this title, each secretary of state shall report such accounts to the Commission, together with any comments or explanation thereof.

VALIDITY OF BALLOTS

SEC. 113. (a) Votes cast under the provisions of this title shall be canvassed, counted,

and certified in each State by its proper canvassing boards in accordance with the laws of such State in the same manner, as nearly as may be practicable, as the votes cast within its borders are canvassed, counted, and certified.

(b) No executed official Federal war ballot shall be valid if—

(1) The voter has also voted in person or by absentee ballot in accordance with the procedure provided by State law; or

(2) The date of the oath of elector is later than the date of the holding of the election; or

(3) Such ballot is received by the appropriate election official of the district, precinct, county, or other voting unit of the State of the voter's residence later than the closing of the polls on the date of the holding of the election, except that any extension of time for the receipt of absentee ballots permitted by State laws shall apply to ballots cast under this title.

(c) All official ballot envelopes received by a secretary of state at a date or time too late for proper delivery, and all official ballot envelopes not delivered, to polling places or to the proper officials shall not be opened but shall be endorsed with the date on which they were received by such secretary and shall be retained by him until the time has expired for contesting the election, when they shall be destroyed under his supervision without examination.

(d) In certifying the appointment of the electors of President and Vice President under section 2 of the act of May 29, 1928 (U. S. C., title 3, sec. 7a), the executive of each State shall also certify that there has been substantial compliance by officials in such State with the provisions of this title. If the executive of the State does not make such certification, or if the United States War Ballot Commission certifies that there has not been substantial compliance by officials in such State with the provisions of this title, the Senate and House of Representatives, acting separately, shall concurrently decide whether the noncompliance so affected the appointment of electors in the State as to require such appointment to be treated as invalid.

VOTING SAFEGUARDS

SEC. 114. Every individual concerned with the administration of this title shall take all necessary steps to prevent fraud, to protect voters against coercion of any sort, and to safeguard the integrity and secrecy of ballots cast hereunder.

PENALTIES

SEC. 115. (a) Whoever willfully and without justification deprives any voter of any right or privilege provided for in this title, or interferes or attempts to interfere with the right of any person to vote, or to vote as he may choose, under the provisions of this title, or willfully refuses or fails to count any ballot validly cast under the provisions of this title, or whoever does or attempts to do any fraudulent act in connection with the casting of ballots under this title shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both: *Provided*, That this subsection shall not make criminal any act done in good faith by a member of the armed forces of the United States in the exercise of his judgment as to what was practicable and compatible with military operations.

(b) All existing provisions of law prohibiting offenses against the elective franchise shall apply with respect to elections and voting pursuant to the provisions of this title.

APPROPRIATE STATE OFFICIALS

SEC. 116. Wherever, in any State, an official other than the secretary of state is the appropriate State official to carry out any function

vested in the secretary of state under this title, the term "secretary of state" shall mean such other official.

OFFICIALS AND AGENCIES TO ACT FOR SECRETARY OF STATE

SEC. 117. Each secretary of state may utilize the services of such State and local officials and agencies for such purposes and to such extent as he may deem appropriate in the exercise of his powers and duties under this title.

ACT TO BE LIBERALLY CONSTRUED

SEC. 118. No mere informality in the manner of carrying out or executing the provisions of this title shall invalidate any ballots cast under it or otherwise be permitted to defeat its purposes. The provisions of this title shall be construed liberally in order to effectuate its purposes, and substantial compliance with its requirements shall be deemed to be sufficient.

TITLE II

VOTING UNDER STATE LAW FOR STATE AS WELL AS FEDERAL OFFICERS

POST CARDS

SEC. 201. In order to afford an opportunity for members of the armed forces to vote for State officials and to utilize State absentee balloting procedures to the greatest extent possible, the Commission shall cause to be printed and delivered to the Secretaries of War and Navy an adequate number of post cards for use in accordance with the provisions of this title. The Secretaries of War and Navy shall, wherever practicable and compatible with military operations, cause such post cards to be made available, at appropriate times, upon request, to members of the armed forces located within the United States, and, where State procedures can be effectively employed, to members of the armed forces located in other places.

Upon one side of the post card shall be printed the following:

Secretary of state of -----

Being in the armed forces of the United States, I hereby request an absentee ballot to vote in the coming ----- (primary, general, or special) election.

(1) I am a citizen of the United States.

(2) The date of my birth was -----

(3) For ----- years preceding this election my home residence has been in the State of -----

(4) For ----- years preceding this election my home residence has been in the (city, town, or village) of -----, in the county of -----, at (street and number, if any, or rural route) -----

Please send the ballot to me at the following address:

(Print your name clearly above)

(Write your usual signature above)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this ----- day of -----, 194-----

(Commissioned officer writes here his name and rank)

Upon the other side of the post card shall be printed the following:

Free of postage, including air mail (war ballot).

Secretary of state of -----,

(City)

(State)

FUNCTION OF POST CARDS

SEC. 202. Such post cards may be used, if State law permits, as applications for ballots under State absentee balloting laws, as application for registration under State absentee balloting laws, or as sources of information to implement State absentee balloting laws.

No voter shall be precluded from voting under the provisions of title I of this act by reason of any post-card application made under this title, unless such voter casts an absentee ballot.

INFORMATION REGARDING ELECTIONS

SEC. 203. The Commission shall, at appropriate times, furnish the Secretaries of War and Navy with any information received from a secretary of state as to the dates of elections in such State, including general, special, and primary elections. The Secretaries of War and Navy shall cause, wherever practicable and compatible with military operations, such information to be made available to members of the armed forces.

TITLE III

MISCELLANEOUS

AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 301. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

TRANSMISSION FREE OF POSTAGE

SEC. 302. The transmission of all communications under titles I and II of this act shall be free of postage, including air-mail postage, in the United States mails.

VOTING UNDER STATE LAW PERMITTED

SEC. 303. Nothing in this act shall be deemed to restrict the right of any member of the armed forces of the United States to vote in accordance with the law of the State of his residence, if he does not elect to vote in accordance with the provisions of title I of this act.

SEPARABILITY

SEC. 304. If any provision of this act or the application of such provision to any circumstance shall be held invalid, the validity of the remainder of the act and the applicability of such provision to other circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

REPEAL OF ACT OF SEPTEMBER 16, 1942

SEC. 305. The act entitled "An act to provide for a method of voting, in time of war, by members of the land and naval forces absent from the place of their residence," approved September 16, 1942 (Public Law 712, Seventy-seventh Congress), is hereby repealed.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

(Mr. MAAS asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.)

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein an address delivered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] over the radio.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein a letter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein a letter received from Gen. Frank T. Hines, Veterans' Administrator, with certain enclosures.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. McLEAN] is recognized for 40 minutes.

TAXATION

Mr. McLEAN. Mr. Speaker, Secretary Morgenthau appeared before the Finance Committee of the Senate this morning and advocated the same tax program as he did before the House Ways and Means Committee several weeks ago. The program had the full and deliberate consideration of the Committee on Ways and Means, which was unable to justify it and, instead, reported the measure passed by the House last Wednesday.

The attitude of the Secretary would indicate that the administration is not going to be satisfied with the recommendations of the Ways and Means Committee and the action of the House, and, what is more important, this difference of opinion would indicate that we still have a tax problem. That problem goes beyond thoughts of the amount of money that should be raised and involves matters which ought to have the thoughtful consideration of Congress.

The remarks made on Wednesday during the debate were directed more particularly to the provisions of the measure before us. My purpose today is to supplement the thoughts expressed at that time with some general observations as to the effect of increased Federal taxes.

REVOLUTION BY TAXATION

It is apparent that a revolution is occurring in Federal taxation. This revolution carries with it, unfortunately, the clear implication of a vast social revolution, unless recent trends are checked. After World War No. 1, Federal taxes declined from a peak of \$6,700,000,000 in the fiscal year of 1920 and were continued during the 1920's at a level of \$4,000,000,000. When, in 1938, tax receipts again ran close to \$5,000,000,000, the country thought it was paying very heavy taxes. In the fiscal year of 1939, Federal taxes amounted to \$5,200,000,000. During the fiscal year 1944 they may rise to \$45,000,000,000. Now the Treasury has proposed to saddle the taxpayers with \$10,500,000,000 in new taxes as a modest reminder that we are engaged in World War No. 2.

Of course, taxes may be reduced after the war. But, to maintain the military and civil expenditures which now loom up as necessary in the years following the war, it may be imperative to raise \$20,000,000,000 or more annually in taxes for many years. Our tax payments after this war may be four or five times our tax payments before the war, and to our Federal tax payments we must add payments of \$10,000,000,000 or more in taxes to our State and local governments. The revolution by taxation threatens the existence of our free enterprise system of business, the existence of our middle class, and the existence of our States.

TAXATION AND FREE ENTERPRISE

First, consider the tax threat to our enterprise system. Under our free-enterprise system, the owners and managers of

business undertakings have supplied the capital and managerial ability to conduct business efficiently, producing vast quantities of goods and services for the customers who have been eager to satisfy their wants for automobiles, radios, telephones, and a myriad variety of articles. Those who assumed the risks of promoting new inventions and producing these and staple articles, who ventured their capital and their abilities, knew that if they were successful in supplying the consumers they would reap economic rewards. The system provided incentives to work and save, to produce at ever lower costs, and to assume all the risks entailed in business. In producing for the consumer, work was provided for the masses so that they would earn the higher incomes they wanted in order to purchase the expanding stream of goods and services flowing into the markets.

The system of free enterprise did not always operate perfectly and the reformers sought to destroy it and to establish in its place a Government-controlled economy. No doubt Government must cooperate with business, must at times regulate and aid it, if business is to function most effectively for the whole society. But when Government supplants private business, the incentives to thrift and work, to saving and risk taking, to efficiency and low costs, are weakened. Government control of industry need not come directly by outright condemnation and purchase. It may come indirectly through confiscatory taxation and a multitude of stringent regulations which deaden the spirit of free enterprise and drain off its resources.

Our corporate taxes are now imposed at terrific rates. The normal and surtaxes are graduated up to 40 percent and the excess-profits tax may rise to 90 percent, except as it is reduced by the inadequate 10-percent credit for debt payment and post-war needs. These taxes together may take as much as 80 percent of a corporation's income and remove virtually all incentive to assume the added risk of new and greater production. Now the Treasury would go further and increase the combined normal and surtax to a maximum of 50 percent.

What would the effects of this drastic step be? Contrary to popular opinions, corporations have not enjoyed large profits after their taxes have been paid, they have not been paying out great dividends, and they have not been piling up huge surpluses. Our corporations urgently need funds for conversion to post-war production. They urgently need funds to provide the equipment and materials required to meet the accumulating reservoir of consumer demand which will break in a flood of buying after the war.

But the tax rates have been so high that corporations have been unable to save the funds they will need after the war. Everywhere business enterprises are seriously concerned over the inadequacy of funds for financing their post-war requirements. The universal demand everywhere in the world of business for deductions from taxation to

permit the laying away of funds is a convincing demonstration that corporate tax rates have passed the point of danger.

At the height of prosperity in the year 1929, Federal corporation taxes amounted to \$1,181,000,000 and the profits remaining after taxes were \$7,972,000,000. Dividend payments were \$5,778,000,000.

In the year 1942, although corporate profits before taxes were \$18,784,000,000 as compared with \$9,153,000,000 in 1929, taxes had increased over 10 times and were \$11,900,000,000. Profits after taxes were \$6,884,000,000, or \$1,088,000,000 less than in 1929. Dividend payments were \$3,983,000,000, or \$1,795,000,000 less than in 1929. These are all Department of Commerce figures. At this stage it is still uncertain if 1943 will not present an even less favorable picture for corporations than 1942.

In the period 1929 to 1942, while corporate profits after taxes and dividends were declining, wage and salary payments were increasing from \$52,000,000,000 to \$78,000,000,000. The net income of farmers has also been rising during the war and the workers and farmers have, in general, enjoyed real increases in their purchasing power. Meanwhile the owners of corporations were not enjoying larger profits and dividends, after taxes had taken their heavy toll, and their purchasing power has been declining.

Corporations have recently been saving out of their earnings about \$3,000,000,000 annually, a relatively small sum when their post-war capital requirements and their increased risks are considered. Individuals have increased their savings phenomenally, however. They put aside nearly \$27,000,000,000 in 1942 and may save \$36,000,000,000 in 1943, according to the Department of Commerce.

Of course these are aggregate figures and they do not tell the story of particular corporations. But the general trend is clear. The take of Uncle Sam out of corporation earnings has multiplied from a little over \$1,000,000,000 in 1929 to nearly \$12,000,000,000 in 1942, and may rise to \$14,000,000,000 or more in 1943. Two-thirds of total corporate earnings are now being taken in taxes and the Treasury wants still more.

The answer invariably given by the proponents of higher taxes to the suggestion that present taxes are already an oppressive weight on corporations is that the corporations, if they lack capital after the war, can obtain it from Government-regulated banks or from Government-regulated capital markets. The critics of free enterprise also say that corporations should not be allowed to plow back their earnings but should be compelled to come to the Government or Government-controlled financial sources for funds.

Thus confiscatory taxation would be employed to choke the spirit of free enterprise and remove the cheapest and most accessible source of funds. Thus by taxation the Government would become the virtual owner of business and

industry. Thus by taxation state socialism or fascism would be inaugurated.

THE THREAT TO THE MIDDLE CLASS

I have spoken of the threat of crushing taxation to private enterprise, which we have long regarded a typical American institution. Another democratic institution, the great middle class of skilled and white-collar workers, of small enterprisers and professional people, of prosperous farmers and others with moderate incomes, is now threatened by the menace of regulatory taxation which would squeeze out of existence those with incomes above \$2,500.

At first our tax policies were directed against those with incomes above \$1,000,000. Then the \$100,000 class was bludgeoned by taxation, and more recently the \$25,000 group. Now we have the Treasury tax proposals to strike at those with incomes above \$2,500 and to soften the load on those with lower incomes. This is class legislation pure and simple—an open bid for the votes of the masses with lower incomes. In time the attack will be directed toward the \$2,000 class, and eventually, perhaps, the \$1,500 incomes, until all families have equal shares of the national product.

Now I have no brief for soaking the poor with heavy taxes. They should be spared from excessive burdens. So should the great middle class, which has always been the stabilizing influence in American society. Our goal should be the raising of the incomes at the bottom until all of our families are in the middle class, rather than tearing down the middle class and lowering all family incomes to the poverty level.

The Treasury income-tax proposal would take little in higher taxes from family incomes below \$2,500, and that would largely be refunded, or more than refunded, after the war. Disregarding the effects of the 12.5-percent tax rate increase arising this year from the enactment of the Current Tax Payment Act, a married man with two children would have left, after paying his income tax, the following, according to Treasury estimates:

A \$2,000 net income, \$1,919.

A \$3,000 net income, \$2,616.

A \$5,000 net income, \$3,837.

A \$10,000 net income, \$6,445.

A \$25,000 net income, \$11,250.

Of course, there would have to be paid the 12.5-percent rate increase due this year and next, which the Treasury has forgotten to mention, and any income taxes imposed by State and local governments.

I have recently read a very interesting article in the United States News of October 15, 1943. I commend that article to you. It shows how the middle class is being wiped out by Federal taxation.

It may not be possible in the future for the middle class to have insurance beyond the very modest pensions provided by the Government. It may not be possible to send the children to college. It may not be possible to leave a small estate for the dependent sur-

vivors. It may not be possible to contribute to churches and to charities, to hospitals and educational institutions.

Certainly, after the Federal Government has taken its taxes and the State and local government taxes are paid, those with income above \$2,500 will have little enough left, and the Treasury would take a large part of that small residue.

Of course, if you look to an era when all individuals will be working for the Government, and will depend upon the Government for their care in sickness, old-age, and death, you will not be concerned over the survival of the great middle class. But if you hold faith in American democracy, you will not want to destroy that large group which, neither rich nor poor, has provided our democracy with leaders in the past and has contributed so much to its cultural and religious life—to its system of free enterprise.

I ask you to avoid the liquidation of the middle class by taxation. The fixed incomes are being hard hit by rising living costs and by taxes which are now oppressively heavy. It would be fatal to American democracy to undermine the middle class further by confiscatory taxation, which would leave us a race of peasants and factory workers.

CAN OUR STATES SURVIVE?

Finally, I mention the threat to our States in the recent taxing and spending trends of the Federal Government. By our vast expansion of Federal taxation we are depriving the States of their vital revenue sources. We have invaded the inheritance, gasoline, and income-tax fields, and we might as well invade the retail sales-tax field directly as by the indirect method of excise taxes. We used to think that property taxation was safely preserved for the State and local governments, but now we have a Federal use tax on automobile and motorboats which is, in effect, a tax on a certain kind of property. We have learned from the levy of the Federal estate, gift, and use taxes that we can, in the disguise of an excise, tax property by taxing its transfer or its use. In Congress there have also been proposals to place an excise upon intangible property. What is left for the State and local governments?

With Federal taxes taking forty or forty-five billion dollars from income of individuals and corporations, consumption, and other sources, it is very difficult for the State and local governments to maintain their revenues. After the war, when Federal taxes may amount to twenty or twenty-five billion dollars annually, the pressure upon these governments to lower their taxes will be tremendous.

How can these governments survive without independent revenue sources? Many view the situation with no alarm. They would centralize all taxes at Washington and share the proceeds with the States. Living on a dole, the States would, indeed, be political paupers which had been sold out to the Federal Government.

Federal grants to the State and local governments have increased tremendously. The centralizers are crying for new and bigger grants for education, health, highways, welfare, and many other services. Federal authority is growing apace and State authority is weakening. If we wish our States to survive, and I believe they are indispensable elements in American democracy, we must call a halt upon centralized taxation and spending.

CONCLUSION

I have spoken of three threats in the flood of Federal taxes to fundamental American institutions. If free enterprise, the middle class, and our States are to continue to exist, Federal taxes must soon recede and must certainly not rise higher.

If we want to introduce communism, I see no quicker and more effective way than confiscatory taxation which will wipe out our corporations, place a low ceiling on incomes, and bleed the States.

If this is what we are fighting for, our crusade for democracy is a sorry spectacle indeed. While our boys are crushing fascism abroad, we are inviting it at home. While they are fighting centralized authority in Germany and Japan, we are opening our doors to social revolution and a centralized dictatorship in America.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. RUSSELL). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. MURRAY] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the 15 minutes allotted to me be transferred to the end of the day, after all other special orders, and that I may proceed at that time for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. COFFEE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include a radio address delivered by myself.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURGIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include a newspaper clipping.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in three different particulars, and to include an article appearing in the Boston Globe; also a letter from the Touchdown Club of Washington, and a letter from the American Taxation Clinic.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order, the gentleman from

Kansas [Mr. WINTER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

ELEVEN WEEKS OF DEMOCRATIC LETHARGY

Mr. WINTER. Mr. Speaker, we are now starting into the twelfth week of the sessions of the House of Representatives since we came back from our recess which ended on the 14th day of September. But the Democratic leadership of this House, in 11 long weeks, has only had 166 hours in which the House of Representatives has been in session, and less than one-third of that time was devoted to the consideration of matters brought to the floor of the House of Representatives by the Democratic leadership. It is no wonder, therefore, that we felt it necessary to organize our Drive-for-Action Committee, in an effort to compel the Democratic leadership to take off the brakes so Congress can act on the issues upon which the country is calling for action. You can look in the RECORD and find just exactly how much time we have spent in session. Here is the record:

The Fulbright resolution has been passed by this House. House joint resolution 159, which provides for the care of wives of enlisted men and some of their dependents. An amendment to the National Housing Act. House Concurrent Resolution No. 33. This was a good one, providing for additional copies of House Resolution 30 which authorized an investigation regarding the progress of the war.

Then we have passed H. R. 3381, relating to the Victory tax credits.

H. R. 5363, extending the time that applications might be made under the excess-profits tax, and renegotiation of contracts.

We repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act.

We passed a slight amendment to the Selective Training and Service Act.

We passed the deficiency appropriation bill.

We passed a resolution paying for the expenses of members of the Foreign Affairs Committee who are attending the United Nations Food and Relief Conference.

We passed a resolution extending the term of office of the President of the Philippines.

We passed H. R. 3356 increasing the compensation rates and pensions of disabled veterans and H. R. 3377 increasing veterans' pensions.

We passed the Commodity Credit legislation banning consumers' food subsidies and the tax bill. That is the complete record of so-called major legislation passed by this House in 11 weeks. That is all there is—there is not any more. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Democratic leadership, which is directly responsible for this sorry showing, becomes nettled and ill-tempered when it is challenged by our Drive-for-Action Committee.

We have just begun to fight. We shall continue to insist that the Democratic

majority, which exercises complete control over this Congress and its committees, take action to permit the duly elected Representatives of the people who sit in this House to pass upon all necessary remedial legislation.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. WINTER] has expired.

Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BUSBEY] is recognized for 15 minutes.

INVESTIGATIONS BY CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, I was quite disturbed this morning when I picked up a copy of today's Washington Daily News and read an article entitled, "Effect May Hamstring Loyalty Inquiries. Civil Service Bans Check on Workers' Red Activities."

This is an article by the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance. This article is of such great importance at this time that I am going to take the time of the House to read it.

It reads as follows:

CIVIL SERVICE BANS CHECK ON WORKERS' RED ACTIVITIES—EFFECT MAY HAMSTRING LOYALTY INQUIRIES

United States civil-service investigators conducting "loyalty investigations" of Government employees and applicants for Federal jobs are now forbidden to ask them any general questions regarding their political philosophy or their belief in capitalism, it was learned here today.

Furthermore, an order issued November 3 by the Civil Service Commission specifically bans questions concerning activities in Communist unions or in any of the Communist-front organizations.

The order, which went out to some 800 investigators throughout the country, drastically curtails the procedure for determining whether Federal employees are Communists.

Its effect, according to some investigatory agencies here, will be to hamstring the investigators in their loyalty inquiries for the War and Navy Departments, the O. W. I., and all other branches of the Federal service.

LOCAL GROUP NAMED

The order specifically forbids inquiries about the Abraham Lincoln Brigade "or any other of the many Spanish relief groups," the Lawyers Guild, the League of Women Shoppers, and the Harry Bridges Defense Committee. Most of these are pro-Communist or Communist-controlled.

Instruction No. 4 says: "Do not ask any question about membership in the Washington Book Shop or any book shop in any city similar to the Washington Book Shop."

In a confidential memorandum issued last year to aid Federal department heads to determine the loyalty of their employees, the Attorney General included the Washington Book Shop among 12 organizations he found to be Communist-controlled.

WARNED OF DISCIPLINE

Order No. 6 forbids the Government investigator to ask any question of an applicant or jobholder which might show that his wife or husband, as the case may be, or the members of his family are Communists.

Order 12 forbids inquiring about the applicant's favorite reading matter "especially the Daily Worker and all radical and liberal publications."

The order concludes: "From time to time you will receive additional instructions as to what to do and what not to do in the

course of investigation of loyalty cases. The foregoing instructions are to be rigidly observed and any deviation therefrom will be cause for disciplinary action."

The order was signed by L. A. Moyer, executive director and chief examiner for the Commission, and initiated by Alfred Klein, a Commission attorney.

BARRED FROM PAY ROLLS

Under the Hatch law, Communists as well as Nazis and Fascists are barred from the Federal pay rolls. But Communists scarcely ever admit they are such. Hence, the practice of Federal investigating bodies is to show an over-all picture of activity in Communist fronts.

One of the few ways in which Communists show their hand is by their leadership of Communist unions or Communist factions within unions. Instruction No. 1 of the Commission's order declares, however:

QUESTIONING RESTRICTED

"Under no circumstances should any question be asked of an applicant or a witness involving union membership, union associations, or union activities. Not only should the applicant not be asked about membership in a union but any question should be avoided which might elicit from the applicant or from a witness union membership or activities."

If "witnesses say that a certain person is a Communist because he has associated with certain persons in a union known or said to be Communists," order No. 2 says, the investigator should inquire no further into the subject.

"In other words," No. 2 concludes, "the question of unionism should not be brought up in any way in an investigation, either directly or indirectly."

Regarding Spanish relief groups in America, order 3 says: "The whole matter of the war in Spain should be scrupulously avoided by the investigator as having any bearing on pro-Communism."

No. 15 says: "Do not ask general questions regarding the political philosophy of the applicant, such as whether he believes in capitalism or what his opinion is regarding certain events of a current or historical nature."

LIST NOT COMPLETE

In forbidding questions about the Harry Bridges Defense Committee, the Lawyers' Guild, and the League of Women Shoppers, the order includes two non-Communist groups—the Socialist Party and the American Civil Liberties Union. But order 14 points out, "This is not a complete list of organizations about which no questions should be asked. . . . If the investigator is in doubt, the best policy is not to ask the question."

Questions about color, race, creed, or religion and those "under the category of 'snooping'" are specifically banned also.

Spokesmen for the Commission today admitted the existence of the November 3 order but declined to make it public officially.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUSBEY. I yield.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Is there anything in any of those instructions which prohibits those investigators from asking whether or not an applicant belongs to the D. A. R., to the America First Committee, or the Veterans of Foreign Wars, or any other patriotic organization?

Mr. BUSBEY. The organizations to which the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] refers are not listed in this article.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I just wondered. Because of the investigations being carried on by some of the Government snoopers, it seems that if you belong to America First, or the D. A. R., or the Loyal Dames, or any of those organizations, you are condemned and deprived of a job. Did the gentleman find out anything about that?

Mr. BUSBEY. I thank the gentleman from Michigan for his observation, and, in my opinion, it is particularly true in the Office of War Information.

I am a firm believer in free speech. I have never in my life tried to prevent anybody from voicing his opinions on any subject, regardless of what it might be. But the restrictions and regulations such as those issued by the Civil Service Commission under date of November 3, absolutely destroy the very purpose for which the Civil Service Commission was established. If we have this condition to contend with, how are we going to be able to find out whether a man is connected with the Nazi Party, the Fascist Party, or the Communist Party?

Mr. Speaker, I think that the Civil Service Committee of the House of Representatives should make a very exhaustive and extensive study and survey into this question and find out who was back of these instructions by the Civil Service Commission. Where did the pressure come from, and why were these instructions issued? Let us stop and think for a moment what the effect will be on the investigators in the field. First of all, with many of the best investigators of the Civil Service Commission in the armed forces of our country, they have had to recruit many investigators who are not schooled in investigating work.

The work load of the Civil Service Commission has been terrific. Some of these investigators have been very diligent in going through an investigation to find out a man's background and affiliations, then when they receive these instructions are going to say: "Oh, what the hell's the use anyway?" It will discourage these investigators in the field from ascertaining who are loyal, patriotic Americans, and who are the individuals on our pay roll who are against this constitutional republican form of government of ours.

Mr. ROWE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUSBEY. I yield.

Mr. ROWE. Will the gentleman let me propound this question? Is it not equally true that in the laxity that may be in effect in obtaining investigators, if you get one who may be allied with the organizations we are excluding from interrogation here, that by his very knowledge, having been on the inside, he could fill the Civil Service Commission rolls with that type of individual?

Mr. BUSBEY. The gentleman is absolutely correct. The Members will remember the trouble we went through during the past year trying to take three individuals off the Federal pay roll, men who were found guilty of subversive activities by the Kerr committee. This, to me, appears to be just another one of

the obstacles thrown in the way by the administration, of thorough investigation to find out who are the disloyal employees on the Federal pay roll. It is hard enough now to get them off; in fact, almost impossible. But if these instructions are allowed to remain, there will be no possible chance of ever getting a subversive off the pay roll.

These instructions, if allowed to stand, will be cause for great rejoicing among the Communists of this country, because it is exactly what they have been talking, hoping, and praying for, for a long, long time. I do not hesitate to say that the pay rolls of our Government now have hundreds of known Communists, or fellow travelers on there who should be removed, but who never will be eliminated if the investigators are not allowed to thoroughly investigate their loyalties.

We have a duty to the men and women in the armed services of this country. They are depending on the Congress of the United States to see to it, after the war is over and they return, that they have returned to the same constitutional republic we had when they left. If we do not do it, who will? I appreciate the fact that it is just as bad to go clear over to the right and be a reactionary as it is to go clear over to the left and be a Communist. Fortunately, however, our forefathers saw to it that this Constitution of ours was a golden mean between the two extremes. Let us keep it so, for if we permit things like this to go on we shall find this Government going to the left a great deal faster than it is even now.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUSBEY. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Does the gentleman know any way to stop this matter except by an act of Congress?

Mr. BUSBEY. I think, as I said, that the Civil Service Committee should make a thorough investigation and that some action should be taken, and taken now.

Mr. HOFFMAN. But in view of the fact that our request that certain named men be stricken from the pay roll was disregarded, what good will an investigation do unless we pass a positive act, unless we pass legislation nullifying this or any similar order?

Mr. BUSBEY. The gentleman is absolutely correct. The issue before the people of this country today is simply this: Are we going to let these long-haired New Deal bureaucrats continue on their road and make a completely collectivist, Marxist, regimented, totalitarian, dictatorship out of this country, or are we going to be red-blooded, patriotic Americans and continue to fight to restore constitutional representative government to the people of this country? That is the challenge that faces us here today.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUSBEY. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CRAWFORD. What are we going to do with a particular situation like this,

where we have legislation with reference to the three employees who have been mentioned, yet where a Cabinet member takes the position in advance of the case ever being submitted to a court, that the act we passed was unconstitutional, therefore he is not bound in any way to pay any attention to the act of Congress and proceeds to tell these people to stay on the pay roll, as in the case of a certain gentleman who now occupies a certain position in the Virgin Islands at the present time operating under the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Ickes?

Mr. BUSBEY. I may say to the gentleman from Michigan that the only thing we can do is to bring these matters to the attention of the people of the country and then pray to God they may remedy it next year.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. BUSBEY. I yield.

Mr. HOFFMAN. It seems to me we can go a little further than that: We can cut that department off from access to any funds. If they then wanted to keep those three individuals at the expense of everyone else that would be their responsibility. It is our business to appropriate money. If they do not spend it the way we direct that it be spent then let us not give them any more.

Mr. BUSBEY. The Civil Service Commission is the only investigating agency we can get any information from regarding the loyalty of Government employees. Reports of the F. B. I., G-2 of the Army, and of the Office of Naval Intelligence are not made available to anyone.

So if these gag instructions are allowed to stand, we will not be able to get any information from a single Government agency regarding these subversives, and we will never have a chance of exposing them to the people of this country in their nefarious activities. I hope the Civil Service Committee will take immediate action to correct this situation.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Record and to include newspaper articles.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. O'HARA]?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, after all other special orders heretofore entered have been disposed of, I may have the privilege of addressing the House for 20 minutes.

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not know how many special orders there are for tomorrow but there are quite a few. The Democrats want to have a caucus on the adjournment of the House tomorrow.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, if I may, I will change that request to Wednesday to address the House for 20 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CRAWFORD]?

There was no objection.

SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER. Under previous special order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. POULSON] is recognized for 25 minutes.

Mr. POULSON. Mr. Speaker, by this time we are all aware of the fiasco known as the Canol project in northern Canada where the United States Government has spent in excess of \$100,000,000 for the purpose of developing a field of questionable possibilities, and which has proven to be definitely a very costly and unsatisfactory venture. There are other implications, which have nothing to do with the oil situation, but which are important and one is the attempt by friends of Lt. Gen. Brehon Somervell to place the blame on some subordinates, but I think the record will definitely prove that no oil man of any creditability has recommended this field to General Somervell. So, therefore, the blame should definitely rest upon the man in charge of this Department, General Somervell.

Rather than have this a fault-finding episode, it is my recommendation that we salvage from this great mistake as much as possible and turn our efforts toward something constructive, the development in American territory of an oil reserve which leading oil experts recognize has a far better geologic setting than an untested oil area either in Alaska or on the North American continent. This fact was known before the Army's venture in Canol.

Now, let us briefly review what has been said on this floor, and what information has been brought out concerning this oil reserve, and also what correspondence has been transacted between myself and the Navy. On February 26, I made my maiden speech by asking the Navy Department what it was doing about the naval oil reserve in northwestern Alaska. I called attention to the fact that Japan knew about this because she had flown in an emissary of good will to Nome, which is only 400 miles from this reserve, back in 1939. I also included a report made for this specific purpose by W. T. Foran, a geologic engineer with adequate experience.

Mr. Foran, following his 2 years spent in study of the naval oil reserve in northwestern Alaska spent the next 12 years in the employ of the foreign staff of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey as an oil geologist and explorer. Most of this was spent in the Argentine and Bolivia. The following 4½ years, he spent in the Middle East in the employ of both the Standard Oil and Shell. I am merely mentioning this to show his capabilities and background, which place him in a position to give counsel and advice as to the potentialities and possibilities of this oil area comprising the Alaskan Naval Reserve.

In this report, Mr. Foran points out the fact that the climatic conditions compare with Montana and Alberta oil producing regions; that this Alaskan reserve is not situated in a region of past or present glaciation. He also points out how equipment can be flown in or taken in by marine transportation. He also gives the geological details.

On April 8, I wrote the Navy inquiring as to what is being done toward the development of this naval reserve, and received a letter from them on April 12. I wish to quote the following paragraph from this letter:

The matter of the possible use of the Alaskan reserve has been considered seriously for the past several years by the Navy Department and is now being investigated by the Army and Navy Petroleum Board on which Brig. Gen. Walter Pyron represents the Army and Capt. A. F. Carter represents the Navy.

The Navy also went on to state that Mr. Coghill, of the Bureau of the Budget, had visited California, and had contacted Mr. Foran. In this letter, they included a statement of the entire prospective oil areas of Alaska and adjacent regions. I included that statement in the Record when I addressed the House on October 11 on the Canol oil project, at which time I was the first one to officially call attention to this Canol episode. Here is a significant point: this report was handed to Mr. Coghill during March of this year, and Mr. Foran at this time made this statement about the Canol project, which is technically known as the Fort Norman area.

1. The entire production of the Fort Norman area does not exceed at capacity 3,000 barrels of oil a day. This volume is from a system of some 20 wells located in an area well over 500 miles from tidewater. Normally production of such volume is considered of minor importance and, except under stress of great necessity, would never warrant the construction of a 500-mile pipe line over extremely mountainous terrain.

Remember, this statement in itself should have caused some questioning by Mr. Coghill, of the Bureau of the Budget, because I am quite sure testimony will bear out that no competent oil man of experience has recommended this Canol project.

Now, this much can be said in defense of the Army and that is that the Canol was the only developed area in existence at the time; however, it was only producing 300 barrels a day and had been operating over 20 years. It must also be borne in mind that conditions have changed in this war. Now the Army finds it necessary to use as much, if not more, oil than the Navy, and will do so in future wars. Heretofore, the Navy has been the chief user of oil, and as a result it was always given the advantage of any oil reserve discoveries. At this time, I think the Navy is responsible because it has not developed the Alaskan field, and it knows that the Army has been spending money in territory which did not compare with the territory held by the Navy.

This is a war of the United States and not of the Army or of the Navy, and it is

high time that the Army and the Navy cooperate rather than do as they have in the past. The point that I want to bring out is this, that the Navy, which at the present time possesses the cream of American oil industry in its personnel known as the Seabees, could do a most efficient job of testing and developing this oil reserve. As a real test of cooperation, the Army should turn over immediately to the Navy any excessive wild-cattling equipment which it now has available in the Canol area to be used in the testing and development of the Alaskan naval reserve. Legislation can easily be accomplished to allow this transfer.

If the Navy does not choose to test and develop this reserve immediately, let it say so, and then legislation should be introduced to declare this a military reserve where either the Army or the Navy can cooperate in this development. Let us quit these Pearl Harbor tactics of non-cooperation between Army and Navy. I am sure the Army will be glad to redeem itself by testing and developing this area if the Navy wants to continue its dilatory tactics.

Mr. WHITE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POULSON. I yield to the gentleman from Idaho.

Mr. WHITE. Does the gentleman recommend that the equipment at Canol be transferred from the Army to the Navy to develop some naval reserve in Alaska?

Mr. POULSON. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. How about taking that same equipment and developing the naval reserve in Elk Hills? Does the gentleman know anything about that?

Mr. POULSON. The transportation back would be excessive. The distance between the Norman field and the Alaskan reserve is much shorter.

Mr. WHITE. The gentleman knows, as a matter of fact, that under this so-called contract between the Standard Oil Co. and the Navy, the Navy and the Government of the United States are not to get a drop of oil nor a nickel out of the Standard Oil Co. for 5 years, or until the end of the war?

Mr. POULSON. Of course, that is another problem by itself. I am not disputing the facts, however.

Mr. WHITE. If the Navy cannot develop its own oil in the United States, what does the gentleman expect it to do in Alaska?

Mr. POULSON. It has the best engineers at the present time in the Seabees, taken from the oil industry, and it has the personnel to do it.

Mr. WHITE. Why is it not logical for the Navy to go into Elk Hills and pump its own oil?

Mr. MAGNUSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POULSON. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. MAGNUSON. May I say to the gentleman from Idaho that the Naval Affairs Committee is now holding a series of hearings on the matter of the Elk Hills reserve. I have no doubt, I may say to

the gentleman from California, that the committee and the Navy Department are going to decide all points in dispute in favor of the conservation of the Elk Hills reserve. If the gentleman will permit me further, I may say that the Navy is in process also of attempting to find out just what we have in the so-called Point Barrow reserve—the Alaskan reserve—not for the purpose of developing it, because, as yet, we do not need it. The time may come when we will need it, but we are going to keep it for the Navy. I do not think there will be any dispute as to whether the Army or Navy shall have it. We are going to keep it for the military use of the American people. In my opinion, the gentleman's point on the other project is well taken.

I am glad the gentleman suggested that we might take some of that equipment over to Point Barrow because it will help what we have up there. We have about 25,000 square miles and in some cases oil is seeping out of the ground, but it belongs to the people of this country and it is going to stay there as long as we gentlemen are here in Congress. We are going to keep it that way.

That Canol project was probably ill-advised. The Army did a lot of things. The gentleman from Washington and the gentleman from Oregon and myself thought they were ill-advised when they selected the route of the Alaska Highway up in that area, but they just went ahead without consulting anybody. The suggestion of the gentleman from California may be the answer to this thing—take it over there to Alaska, our own Territory, and see what we have up there. In the meantime we are going to keep it all as a reserve.

Mr. POULSON. I thank the gentleman from Washington. I definitely want to bring out that we shall keep it for the people of the country.

Mr. WHITE. May I ask the gentleman from Washington this question: If the Committee on Naval Affairs is dealing with it, why does it come to the Public Lands Committee of this House that has jurisdiction over that matter?

Mr. MAGNUSON. The Public Lands Committee made an exhaustive study of this matter, and a very able study. The Committee on Naval Affairs has the transcript of the record over there and we are relying on it a great deal in determining this question. It is an exhaustive study. They went into that matter fully.

Mr. WHITE. This naval oil reserve was reserved for an emergency for the Navy. If we are not in an emergency now in fighting a global war, how long will it be before we will be in an emergency?

Mr. CASE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POULSON. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. CASE. I think the gentleman from California is to be commended for his suggestion. If we are going to engage in any oil development in the Northwest at this time, it ought to be at the point nearest its potential military use—that would be in Alaska if possible.

The only justification for any oil development by either the Army or Navy at this time would be to make available any reserves that we may have for the military needs of the time. Certainly there is no justification for going out to develop a new oil field for the fun of it or as a general development proposition.

Mr. POULSON. I may answer that by stating that they are paying around \$35 a ton for coal shipped from Colorado and Utah to the coast line and as high as \$60 inland where they use it for mines and other activities up there.

Exorbitant price of fuel has retarded development of Alaska. I thank the gentleman from Washington [Mr. Magnuson] who has very ably added to what should be done in the particular reserves.

Mr. CASE. Of course, the gentleman from California and every man who gives the matter any thought, as the gentleman has, will realize that the value of an oil development, either at Norman Wells or Point Barrow, or any other part of that northwest country, rests upon the location of the oil and its suitability for critical military uses. It is all very well to talk about the reserve at Elk Hills or some place else, but oil in any part of the Northwest country for use in that particular part of the world may be worth a great deal more than oil in Kansas, Florida, or California. A usable oil supply at Dutch Harbor or Salamaua or Salerno is worth more than one deep in the heart of Texas.

Mr. POULSON. The gentleman has brought out a very good point. In fact, with our global warfare today and aviation, it seems to me that it is very important that we have some reserves tested and developed and kept, of course, for the United States in territory such as Alaska, especially since it is the short air route to Asia.

Mr. CASE. As to the Canol project, if there were any justification for it, it would be that the military needs were such that we had to get gasoline and oil at a point that would be relatively safe from attack and somewhere near the possible theater of action. Even that would not excuse waste or excessive costs in the project. However, if the Point Barrow field offers a better opportunity of having a reserve on the ground where we do not have the problem of transport and the time involved in transport, the Point Barrow field ought not merely to be investigated but it ought to be brought to such a stage of development that it could be used if the military and naval authorities determine that we need a supply in Alaska. I hope the gentleman pursues his study of this possibility further and I am sure he will. He is doing a real service to the country.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POULSON. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I wish to ask this question for my own personal information. Would the gentleman have had any objection to the Canadian project had it been obtained at reasonable cost?

Mr. POULSON. It is much easier to make a statement after you know what has happened than it would be before, but let us take into consideration the known facts at the time they went in there. All of the geological reports and the testimony of experts showed that Canol field was in extremely inaccessible territory, and that our reserves were in a territory which has never, past or present, been a glaciated territory. The highest point over which you would have to transport oil in pipe line in our territory would be 3,000 feet, whereas it would be 4,500 feet at the Norman Wells project or Canol. The temperature there during the winter is around 70° below zero. The project is in a territory where they had explored for oil and the most they had had was 300 barrels of oil. Further, it was in territory which was controlled by Imperial Oil Co. of Canada, and they and the Canadian Government were the ones who would really get the benefit out of it as far as monetary benefit is concerned. It is true we had to have oil, but there were many things to be taken into consideration which I think should have been given more consideration.

Mr. CRAWFORD. May I submit my question in another way, and I think it will make it clearer? Does the gentleman have any objection to our obtaining petroleum or petroleum products from any other country on earth than the United States for the prosecution of this war as long as we obtain it at a reasonable price, in preference to using our own oil?

Mr. POULSON. I would be in favor of getting oil from other countries at a reasonable price, but this situation is not comparable to what the gentleman suggests.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I understand.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POULSON. I yield to the gentleman from Idaho.

Mr. WHITE. The gentleman mentions a fair price. It is a matter of fact that after spending \$130,000,000 to develop that field we must pay the Canadian Oil Company \$1.65 a barrel for the oil. Is not that what the record discloses?

Mr. POULSON. I had heard more than that. The money we spend up there we do not get back in retaining any of the property or the rights. We still buy the oil.

Mr. WHITE. Would it not have been the logical thing, if we were going to develop that field, to have gone in and developed the ground and then own the oil we develop, rather than to develop the ground for a Canadian company, a foreign company, and pay \$1.65 a barrel for the oil after we had spent all that money to develop it?

Mr. POULSON. I would think so.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POULSON. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I understand the gentleman's point is that if the Army had

examined this matter more closely and consulted the able Secretary of the Interior, for instance, on the matter, or men who knew, they might not have gone ahead.

Mr. POULSON. That is right.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I do not believe it is all lost. We are going to need all the oil we can get. By intelligent action by the Congress and by the Army in admitting a mistake, if they have made a mistake, taken in cooperation with the Secretary of the Interior, we might still have good use for the Norman Wells oil. Apparently they had some pretty good salesmen in the beginning, including one Vilhjalmur Stefansson, the Arctic explorer.

Mr. POULSON. Yes, evidently. In addition, what I wanted to bring out is that we should salvage this mistake as much as possible and not hold just a fault-finding episode but try to take that equipment and use it.

Mr. MAGNUSON. That is right. The oil is there and we will need the oil and Canada will need the oil.

Mr. POULSON. Whether it is the Army or the Navy, it all belongs to the United States.

Mr. WHITE. The gentleman from Washington states that we could get some good from this \$150,000,000 investment. I should like to know, when the Canadian company owns the oil and owns the land and owns the pipe line, how we are going to get anything out of it except taking off some second-hand equipment that we put in there.

Mr. POULSON. It is my understanding that there is some equipment they have not used yet which can be utilized.

Mr. WHITE. All we are going to salvage out of it is just some equipment.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I may say to the gentleman from Idaho that after all when the spigot is turned on down at one end it may be very close to some of our military forces and be at a place where we can use it.

Mr. WHITE. I call the attention of the gentleman from Washington to the fact that instead of being a bung it is a spigot. It will make only a trickle. It would not charge one ship.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POULSON. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I should like to say in the first place that it certainly seems to me, as the gentleman himself and the gentleman from Idaho have indicated, that if a lot of money is going to be spent on oil development we ought first to acquire the basic oil rights in the name of the American people. But I wish the gentleman would explain, if he has not done so heretofore, as nearly as possible just what the terms of this contract are whereby the Canadian oil company, or the Imperial Oil Co. of Canada, I believe it is, which I understand is partially owned by Standard of New Jersey, gets ownership of this whole business under the terms of this contract. How does that work?

Mr. POULSON. I think that has been brought out on the floor, and the understanding is that all right and title to the equipment and the wells and everything will be retained by the Imperial Oil Co. and the Canadian Government after we have completed it.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Will they repay the United States in oil for the money the United States has expended? Is that the way it works?

Mr. POULSON. We were going to buy the oil. We have a right in the fact that we have the opportunity to purchase that oil. It is all rather involved.

Mr. WHITE. At \$1.65 a barrel.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. I would like to know how the investment of the United States is supposed to be recouped, or is it supposed to be recouped under the terms of this contract?

Mr. POULSON. It will not be recouped.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Of course we own the pipe line, and the Norman oil fields are of no value unless they use the Government pipe line to get the oil out. That pipe line happens to be on Canadian territory. In order to say that we will not get any value out of it, we have to assume that the Canadian Government will say to us, "You have no interest in this pipe line at all." I do not assume that in any way. Canada has always been fair with us on many things, and I assume that Canada will be on this, and that we will own the pipe line, and also, there might be a great amount of oil there. It will be coming out over our pipe line anyway.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that at the close of business on Wednesday, and all other matters on the Speaker's desk, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. LANDIS] may address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix, and include an outline of a plan for the post-war period adopted by the National Council of the American Veterans Organization.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. MURRAY] is recognized for 15 minutes.

FOOD AND ITS HUMAN VALUE

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, there are three points that I want to bring out today. The first one is the importance of meat as a food. The second is the necessity of having our Government fulfill its obligations to the pork producers of this country. I think the Government should do this because it is only a just procedure for it to follow. Another is that if we do not, we

are liable to see a very serious effect upon the future food production of our country. Number 3 is meat versus grain consumption by our people. I would hesitate when I first came here to stand up and discuss vitamins and calories and such complicated names. If I do mention A, B, C, and D, I don't want anyone to think that I have a New Deal alphabetical agency, but I call attention to the fact that the world food conference, U. N. R. R. A., that is meeting in Atlantic City, has publicly announced that they are going to furnish 2,000 calories per day to the people of the liberated countries after the war. In normal times in this country our nutritionists claim we need 2,600 calories per day. It may or may not make a difference whether a person is working or not. I wish to read at this time a few paragraphs from an article published by the Wisconsin Medical Society. We are supposed to need fifteen-hundredths of a pound of protein per day. The heading is "Meat, a body builder." I might say that one of the authors of this article is working very diligently on an experiment to try to show the relationship of vitamins and meat to infantile paralysis. The article is as follows:

MEAT, A BODY-BUILDER

(By H. A. Walsman, R. W. Bray, and Iva Mortimer, University of Wisconsin, Madison)

Meat analysis, meat production, and meat in the family food supply are all represented in this author group. Mr. Walsman handles the field of meat analysis. Mr. Bray is an authority on meat production problems, and Mrs. Mortimer is well acquainted with all the home economics angles in the use of meat in the diet.

As recently as 10 years ago, science was unable to prove that meat is a dietary necessity. As short a time ago as 1932 there was no evidence to deny that man could keep healthy on a plain vegetarian diet.

But things have happened swiftly in the last 10 years. Nicotinic acid, which appears in quantity only in meat, has been revealed as the key to the cure for pellagra. Riboflavin, thiamin, and other B-complex vitamins have showed up richly in meat. Studies of protein have made it clear that meat is one of the nutritionally complete protein foods.

And in all, the last decade has made the vegetarian diet as ridiculous as the whisky cure for snake bite. Good health demands a balanced diet, and a diet isn't balanced if it doesn't supply meat.

MEAT IS IMPORTANT FOR MANY REASONS

Why is meat so important? Principally, as mentioned before, because it supplies the B-complex vitamins, those accessory food substances which can hardly be obtained in proper variety and amounts from other types of food. As for vitamin A, liver is a good source, though other meat products are much weaker in this respect. Meat is important as a source of protein, energy, and minerals.

But it might be wise to study systematically the vitamins and other elements in meat.

In vitamins, first on the list is vitamin A. An average, reasonably active man needs 5,000 international units of this vitamin. Four ounces of liver ordinarily supply about 7,000 units. Other types of meat contain far less of this vitamin, but samples of liver may even run as high as 20,000 I. U. to a quarter of a pound, so liver is an easily adequate

source. Kidneys are of some importance here, too, for a quarter of a pound supplies 743 I. U. of the first vitamin.

Meats are inadequate in supplying vitamin D. Liver is the only meat form which contains vitamin D in any appreciable amount, and the vitamin content in this respect is variable and therefore not to be depended upon.

Vitamin C, the antiscorbutic vitamin, appears in meats in small amounts. It shows up in the adrenal glands and in some other tissues, though fruits and most vegetables are still the best practical sources.

IN B-COMPLEX VITAMINS, MEAT LEADS

But in the B-complex vitamins, meat steps out in front.

Take thiamin for an example. Thiamin (vitamin B₁) is important for health of the nervous system, and has been publicized in recent months as the vitamin of whole grain foods. Four slices of whole-wheat bread contain 160 I. U. of thiamin, but the same size helping of pork loin contains over 500 units. Heart meat is also high, with about 225 units in a quarter pound, and kidneys are equally good. Poultry and beef supply about 50 units in a quarter-pound helping, and so may help to supply the 600 I. U. which a healthy, moderately active man needs each day.

Nicotinic acid was mentioned earlier as the food element which cures pellagra. It appears in substantial amounts in all kinds of lean meats, but liver leads the parade. A 100-gram serving of beef liver contains 17.5 milligrams of nicotinic acid.

Analyses of foods for the presence of nicotinic acid were originally carried on by experiments with dogs, for dogs must have the vitamin to prevent blacktongue, an animal manifestation of the pellagra symptoms. Later chemical analysis was used, and still later microbiological tests were employed. Every study verified the conclusion that meat, supplying nicotinic acid as it does, is necessary to the prevention of pellagra.

EAT LIVER FOR VITAMINS

Riboflavin, which started out to be vitamin G, later was named vitamin B₂, and then ended up with its present chemical name, is a growth-promoting and nerve-stabilizing vitamin. Liver is one of the very best sources of that substance, and lean meats of all kinds do their part in supplying riboflavin. A quarter pound of liver contains up to 3,350 micrograms of riboflavin, where an adult needs only 2,700 micrograms.

Kidney follows along with 2,050 micrograms in 100 grams (less than a quarter pound), and heart is next with almost 900 micrograms. Even lamb, which trails with about 320, is still substantially a good source, and poultry, which offers only about 150, can even be used profitably for riboflavin needs in menu planning.

For vitamin B₆, beef liver, ham, and veal are all important sources. For pantothenic acid, liver, kidney, heart, beef round, and ham all rank high in content. Exact values for biotin, another B-complex vitamin, are not yet completed, but kidney and liver are excellent sources. Liver, kidney, and lean beef and pork all supply adequate amounts of choline, the final member of the B-complex, which is important to normal functioning of the liver and kidneys in the human body. Vitamin K, which helps promote blood clotting and prevents hemorrhages, is found abundantly in liver, though it does not appear to any considerable extent in any other meats. It was in liver, in fact, that the presence of vitamin K was first recognized.

Meat is important in many other respects, but in supplying the B-complex family of vitamins the necessity of serving meat in the daily diet makes itself apparent.

PROTEINS

That roughly outlines the vitamin content of meats.

Now for a look at proteins. How important are they? The 1939 issue of the United States Department of Agriculture Yearbook puts it this way, "If there were any one 'secret of life,' protein might be considered to be at the heart of it, since protein is the essential stuff of which all living tissue is made."

Meat is one of the most prolific sources of protein and at the same time it is one of the best sources. Those two statements sound like a duplication. In actual fact they are not.

Proteins are made up of a number of essential amino acids. Some proteins supply all these necessary amino acids, while others offer only a few. Thus a food can supply a great amount of protein, but unless that protein is made up of the right constituents, the food is not a superior protein source.

Meat fills both needs. It supplies protein abundantly and it supplies the right form.

LIVER OFFERS PLENTY OF GOOD PROTEIN

Of meats liver is the best protein source and lean meats come next, followed by fowl and fish. General cuts of lamb and pork follow in line, then heart and kidneys, and then general cuts of beef.

All these are complete proteins. They are on a par with other complete proteins—cottage cheese, eggs, milk, and cheese. Peas and beans come into the picture as important sources of supplementary protein, but they do not supply all the essential amino acids which the body calls for.

Energy, measured in heat calories, is the next need of the body. Fat meat, of course, is one of the most productive sources of energy. But ordinary cuts of meat, too, supply relatively high energy requirements.

Here are the approximate caloric values offered by a 4-ounce helping of each of the following normal foods:

	Calories
Pork.....	300
Lean beef.....	170
Fish.....	135

Such energy foods as butter, of course, far surpass ordinary meat cuts in caloric value. But for the backbone of the body's energy supply, the staple part of the diet, meats are unequalled.

MINERALS COME IN MEATS

Meats are not exceptionally rich in calcium, milk and cheese being the best sources of that mineral. However, fish in particular and meats in general, supply a small amount of available calcium for better teeth and stronger bones.

For phosphorus in the diet, meats, fish, and poultry are at the head of the list, and for iron and copper they are again exceptionally high.

In the light of these figures, no room remains for dispute about the food value of meat. Where science could neither confirm nor deny, science now can assert that meat is one of the best foods that can go on the family dinner table.

THE RULES FOR MEAT COOKERY

There's no question, then, that meat is healthful. Now how about tastiness? Well, a thick, juicy, carefully cooked steak is one of the finest dishes ever planned, and the less expensive meat cuts can be just as tasty. What's more, they are as nutritious.

Two simple cooking rules insure good vitamin retention and good flavor in almost any kind of meat. The first: Cook all meats at low temperatures. If they are roasted, the temperature should be 300° to 350° F. If they are cooked on top of the stove, they should be simmered. The reason for the low temperature is that meats shrink and lose more of their juices under high heat. That destroys or drains off much of the thiamin, takes away a lot of the flavor, usually cooks the meat unevenly, and reduces the total number of servings a piece of meat will yield.

The second rule: Use dry heat only on tender cuts, and cook with moisture on the less tender pieces. Dry heat will not make meat more tender, though if you have a cut which needs no tenderizing it can be tastily prepared by broiling or roasting in an uncovered pan. But to make a cut of meat more tender, braise, stew, or simmer, either adding liquid or cooking in a closed dish to obtain moist heat.

In point of food value loss, roasting is the most costly cooking process. There is a 20 to 40 percent loss in thiamin and a somewhat smaller loss of riboflavin in roasting except under low temperatures, and even here there is a minor loss of thiamin. Thiamin is the only B-complex vitamin in great danger of destruction by high heats. Riboflavin is more stable, and nicotinic acid goes almost unaffected by high temperatures.

Meat is an easily digested food, and a good food for people of almost any age. There is no evidence that any of the meats produce difficulty of digestion, because experiments show that pork, beef, poultry, fish, veal, and lamb are all from 86 to 90 percent digested.

I also call attention at this time to the feed needed to produce 2,600 calories for human use. If anyone is particularly interested in this, he will get all of the details on page 44 of Bulletin 670.

The table is as follows:

	Unit	Milk cows	Hogs	Laying flocks	Chickens raised	Sheep and lambs	Beef cattle
Feed used to produce 2,600 calories human food—(1) of all feed including pasture.....	Feed unit	9.31	7.66	21.94	29.92	74.47	71.65
Feed used to produce 15 pounds of protein. Expressed in another way: Human food produced by 10 feed units of all feed except pasture:	Feed unit	4.76	11.58	7.05	7.50	38.73	28.68
Calorie and protein index.....		2.54	1.16	.99	.92	1.04	.56

The above facts prove (1) that the hog is the most efficient producer of calories; (2) the hog is third in the efficient production of protein; (3) that the hog is second only to the dairy cow in producing calories and protein combined.

The fact I wish to point out from the above table is that, first, the hog is the most efficient producer of calories; sec-

ond, the dairy cows is by far the most efficient producer of proteins and the most efficient producer when proteins and calories are combined; third, why ration pork when it is more efficiently produced than some nonrationed foods? fourth, why is it patriotic to eat chicken when it should be more patriotic to eat ham?

The O. P. A. never seemed to pay much attention to the scientific facts discovered by our agricultural colleges and experiment stations.

The time has come when we should approach these things from a factual standpoint. I would just like to know why a person is not just as patriotic if he has been eating ham and other pork products for the last 2 years as if he has been eating poultry. If I am wrong, I want to be corrected.

Mr. CASE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. CASE. I would not ask the gentleman to yield to offer any explanation for the odd opinions of the O. P. A., but in measuring the relative merits of feed in relation to calories and protein produced, comparing hogs with beef cattle and dairy cattle, it seems to me if the gentleman points out more manpower is required to take care of dairy cows, he should also point out that less manpower is required to take care of beef cattle and that a full consideration of what is the most economic production of calories and proteins should take into consideration manpower and the natural character of the country in producing feed. Obviously there are many parts of the West where beef cattle can be produced where hogs cannot be produced, and obviously you can produce beef cattle with a great deal less manpower than you can produce hogs or dairy cattle.

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. In answer to the gentleman from South Dakota I will say he anticipated me by a few minutes and he is absolutely correct. We must have a practical application in connection with these food-production facts. We want to be careful of any step we make in connection with what is happening now in relation to the hog business and the corn prices.

There has probably been a reason why a third of the pork of the Nation is produced in Iowa and Illinois. They have the facilities and they have the ability to go ahead and step up their pork production as they have so much in the last couple of years. We know there are hundreds of millions of pounds of beef being produced where you cannot raise chickens, or you cannot have dairy cows. We realize that. But we are getting to the point today where we must do two things: First, we must look at it in terms of the amount of feed we have; and, second, we must make the best use we can make of this feed.

Mr. ROWE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. ROWE. I thought I understood the gentleman to say in his remarks that a condition of rest or inactivity had something to do with the requirement based on 2,600 calories per day. Am I correct in that?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. Yes.

Mr. ROWE. I would quote for the Record at this point from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 7, wherein there is quoted what purports to be a pamphlet issued by the Food and Nutrition Board

of the National Research Council, entitled, "Recommended Dietary Allowances." It says:

According to these eminent authorities, the protein requirements of sedentary and very active men are identical. The caloric requirements differ, and the inference is that very active men require more sugar, starches, cereals, and fats.

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I am familiar with this statement.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. CRAWFORD. The gentleman has been suggesting some questions, and seems to want some answers to them. I suggest that you submit those questions to Mr. Millard C. Faught, Detroit War Food Administration economist, who heads the "Move Over Hogs, You're Spilling the Swill Club." I think he can answer all of those questions. He seems to be well informed. He is on the pay roll of the Federal Government. He surely must have the answers to all those technical questions.

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. He may have the answers, but I want the real facts. I do not know the gentleman, but I will be very glad to write to him if I thought he could give the answers with reference to it. If you think he can tell why it takes points to buy pork but none to buy poultry, I will gladly write him.

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I yield. Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. I take it the gentleman is somewhat of the opinion, at least, that I have been forced to come to during the last few years; that is, that we cannot always depend upon the accuracy of the information received from the different bureaus of the country, and the representatives thereof. In other words, the information which comes to us frequently we have reason to know is colored in a way that does not reflect the truth.

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I will answer the gentleman by saying that I have received colored information but not very often. We should not be getting any colored information in regard to the pork situation. I fear we are.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. O'HARA. The gentleman has made an excellent statement.

I would like to ask the gentleman this question: What are we going to come to in the hog situation when we have the condition that exists today. I am informed we have at least a flooding of the markets. In fact, I think they refer to it as a glutted market, very seriously affecting the immediate future situation, and the food situation of next year. If the gentleman will permit me, we have the further situation where we now have one of the departments going about and regulating protein feeds, which will not only affect hogs, but chickens and all of those things in the food situation. I know the gentleman has given a lot of thought to it. I wonder if he can help me in this situation.

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. That is the serious situation. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] a few days ago told us how he tried this summer to ask them to anticipate what was going to happen. The thing that disturbs me about it is the lack of keeping faith with the men that are asked to produce. Someone in authority should assure or reassure the pork producers of America that they will receive the federally guaranteed price. I have in my hand a letter I received today. It comes from a man in my district connected with the Department of Agriculture program, a man who has spent a quarter of a century working with these subjects. He is not writing any political letter. He says:

DEAR REED: There are many things developing this fall that I would like to see you about. One is the thousands of pigs that are being sold unfinished. Also about the fact that dairy prices have been frozen but feed prices are going sky high.

He also sent me a copy of a telegram giving them instructions as to how to make adjustments in hog-support prices.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may place this telegram in the RECORD at this point. It is so confusing.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The telegram referred to follows:

WASHINGTON, November 22, 1943.

To All F. D. A. Regional Directors.

To All Livestock and Meat Market News and Grading Offices.

If you are asked how requests are to be made for adjustments in hog support price from \$1 under the ceiling, advise they should be directed to War Food Administrator, Washington, and full statement of facts on which appeal is made should be submitted, including the following:

1. Statement as to specific adjustment desired substantiated by (a) statement showing differential from Chicago by months for last 3 years for those months for which adjustment is requested; (b) statement as to whether current marketing situation differs from historical pattern and, if so, how.

2. Statement showing how fixed support price works hardship and interferes with the present marketing of hogs and how adjustment would correct situation.

H. E. REED.

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. Can any Member here answer and tell what this is all about. It will need a follow-up for instructions.

I just wish that the War Food Administrator would explain in language an ordinary man could understand.

Mr. ROWE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. ROWE. What the gentleman has explained to us with reference to the decision of the U. N. R. R. A. on a 2,000-

calorie minimum diet for the people of the occupied countries will in itself create a great demand for a food supply of exactly the caloric and other content the gentleman has showed us is in pork. The gentleman knows that ration points on pork are high, apparently with a view to restricting the sale of pork. The thing that disturbs me is the announcement by O. P. A. that in spite of the increased production there will be a 17-percent shrinkage in the amount available. What can we make out of this confused situation?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. It reminds me of an employer who finds himself with too many hands; he begins to look them over to see which ones he can let go. I believe they are trying to do that now, especially with reference to the hog producer at this time. They have the pork and now they give the pork producer the rough treatment.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ROWE] the other day called attention to irritating practices and abuse of power. I have been through the same thing. I have here a letter from which I will read just one sentence:

You are hereby notified that unless you take immediate action to remedy this situation your permit will be suspended within 10 days.

They toss power like that around recklessly, power to put people out of business, toss it around like a basketball in a basketball game. I took the trouble to look up the qualifications of the individual who wrote this letter and found that he did go to high school for 3 years. The best job he ever had was one at \$150 a month as a beverage investigator; but here he is up there in Wisconsin as an authority on war foods, writing letters such as this threatening to put people out of business within 10 days unless they do what he says. The Food Distribution Administrator tells me this man had no authority to send out any such letter. Orders like that should come out of Washington. They are tossing this power around most recklessly, and to pretty inexperienced operators when they do as they did in this instance.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Is it not their very purpose to create a scarcity? They want less of this, less of that, and less of the other. The gentleman has had a world of experience, practical experience. Does the gentleman believe for one moment that any organization could be so efficiently inefficient as this group down here?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I will answer the gentleman's question.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Without a deliberate purpose back of it?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I do not like to question anyone's motives unless I am compelled to.

Mr. HOFFMAN. What does the gentleman think they are up to? The gentleman has been telling "the heck" they have been raising. What does he think they are doing?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. Their motives may be all right, but they have not followed a very desirable procedure at times.

Mr. HOFFMAN. The gentleman does not think they are so foolish as not to know what they are up to?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I do not know.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I would like to know whether the gentleman is so gullible as to believe those fellows down there do not mean what they are doing nor intend the result that they are bringing about.

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I would not want to indict everyone under one blanket.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Then does the gentleman think there is one of them down there who does not mean good?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I may say I do not have too much respect for the political agriculturists down there.

Mr. HOFFMAN. What does the gentleman mean?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. Those with a political background but with no agricultural background. They never were inside of an agricultural college; they just get those jobs, and pretty responsible jobs, too. That is the reason why I have been wondering why the Appropriations Committee has been appropriating money for so many years to the agricultural colleges and experiment stations of the country, because the Government does not use the men in key positions after they graduate anyway.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Let us talk confidentially, as though there was not anyone here at all. These gentlemen here are not listening, just you and I, we will assume. Does the gentleman think that those folks down there are up to any good?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I think most of them are; yes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Does the gentleman mean some of them who do not hold office?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I think a few of them are more interested in the political crop of 1944 than they are in the food crop of any year. This is not a blanket indictment, however.

Mr. HOFFMAN. There must be one or two good ones somewhere along the line, but, generally, does not the gentleman realize their purpose down there is to create a scarcity of everything so that everyone will have to go to the administration for their daily bread?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. Well, I do not want to subscribe to that.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I am glad the gentleman has so much faith in humanity. He is charitable.

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I am glad the gentleman thinks I am. There is one more paragraph to show you how these lead pencil agriculturists get these things figured out for us:

About 12 to 15 pounds of grain must be fed to livestock to produce enough meat and other livestock products to feed a man for a day, whereas 2 or 3 pounds of grain eaten daily will support a man for a day.

That shows you the avenue in which they are proceeding. If I had the time I could show you the influence that the

World Food Congress had when held down here in Virginia. I spent a day with a gentleman who was a delegate down there, a fine man. I have just watched what he was telling me unfold here in this country since that time. It is a blueprint. I see it coming and in just exactly the same way he told me as to the things we ought to do. We are eating too much meat, we are eating too much dairy products, we could and should eat more fresh vegetables. He told me we should use more vegetables, more grains for human food here in this country. I asked him why canned goods were not as good as fresh vegetables. I told him that all our experiments showed there is very little loss of the vitamins when properly canned. As I spent the whole day with him and I got a good picture from him as to how agricultural things should be run in the whole of the United States. The present food program of the United States seems to be following his blueprint pretty well. We are headed in his direction.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOFFMAN. The gentleman just stated that someone advised us to eat more. The gentleman knows with butter at 16 points a pound butter is piling up, with beef points where they are beef is piling up, and pork consumption has gone down because they have the points on pork so high that the folks cannot buy it.

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. I may say to the gentleman I would take the points off of pork. We can agree on that anyway.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Thursday next I may address the House for 40 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California [Mr. HINSHAW]?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 4½ minutes and to revise and extend my own remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN]?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ROWAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include an article by Paul Winkler, and I also ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include a letter which I received from a constituent.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ROWAN]?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2

minutes at the conclusion of the address of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN].

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON]?

There was no objection.

SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER. Under previous special order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] is recognized for 4½ minutes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, my only reason for taking this time is to refer to the remarks of my good friend the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. MURRAY]. The gentleman from Wisconsin is a big man physically, he is a big man intellectually; his greatest and best characteristic is his charity, because I do not understand, I cannot see how he can look at what these fellows down here are doing to the people, the consumers and the farmers, and not come to the conclusion that their actions are not deliberate and for a purpose. They know their way about, they are smart. They have seen the result of their policies in the years that have gone and they know what will follow if they continue.

Way back in 1935 when our good friend from Michigan, Mr. Mapes, was with us, the beet growers of Michigan had a meeting over in Mr. Mapes' office. All the Republican Michigan Congressmen were there, as I recall. The then Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. WALLACE—he of the “do-gooder” fame—sent two men up there. We wanted an increased acreage of sugar beets so that our beet factories over there in Holland City and over in St. Louis, Mich., could operate at a profit, could continue in business and manufacture sugar. They told us flatly that because Colorado could produce sugar beets with a greater sugar content per ton than we could, ultimately we would have to go out of business; that later, because Florida and Louisiana could produce sugar cheaper than Colorado, Colorado must go out; and that still later, because the offshore areas could produce sugar cheaper than Louisiana and Florida, they would have to go out of the sugar-beet and sugarcane business.

When we asked why, we were told that their plan was to produce things wherever in the world they could be produced the cheapest, at less cost, and that wherever in the United States our workers, our industries, came in conflict with those in foreign lands who could produce whatever it was that was wanted at less cost our workers would have to quit their jobs, our factory doors would have to close. That may have been good for the rest of the world, but it was ruin for America and its workers. That was thinking of America last, a policy which still seems to prevail with the New Dealers.

That was the philosophy down there in 1935. It has been their philosophy ever since.

The gentleman will remember that before the recess from the floor here and from the Well many of us were asking for corn, for poultry feed, for dairy feed,

and we did not get it, although there was plenty of it. The gentleman knows that now some 235,000,000 pounds of butter are held by the Army and that much of that butter is becoming tainted, if not rendered absolutely unfit for human consumption. The gentleman must know that there are 1,700,000 cases, I think, of canned goods that are about to spoil because they have bought them and are holding them out.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Canned goods about to spoil?

Mr. HOFFMAN. I would say to the gentleman from Washington that we have canneries in our community. We know something about canned goods. In fact, I recall going down here to Fred Vinson last summer when we wanted to increase wages 10 and 15 cents an hour to hold the people in the canneries so they could take care of the coming crop, when we wanted to increase the cost half a cent a can, which Vinson's men said would only cover the cost of the increased wages and increased price to the producer, and he said he would take it up with the President the next day, which was a Sunday, how we waited more than a week and then were told that we could not get the concessions that we asked, although we had told Mr. Vinson that the crop would not go into the cans unless those increases were granted, not because the canners did not want to can the crop but because they could not do it at the price named.

So in 1944 there may be a shortage of canned goods. Oh, no, my friend from Wisconsin, the plan is deliberate. They know what they are about, and they intend to wreck our small industries, our small businessmen—make our independent farmers come to the Government to avoid bankruptcy.

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, I take this time only to point out something that it seems to me always is neglected to be pointed out in all this discussion on food. Sure, I will say to the gentleman from Michigan, there are canned goods stacked up in lots of places in the world where our boys are fighting. There is some butter that may spoil some place and has spoiled, and there is probably some meat stacked up in a refrigerator some place down in the South Pacific that we may never use; but we brought it down there because we did not know whether we were going to use it—to have it if we need it.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a correction?

Mr. MAGNUSON. I decline to yield.

Mr. HOFFMAN. The gentleman is misstating what I said.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I did not quote the gentleman.

All of these things are stacked up on all the fighting fronts. It all sums up to this one thing, and it should be brought out in every debate along these lines. The American Army, the American Navy and the American marines are the best fed of any troops, of any fighting men, in the entire world and

of our entire history; and that is what it should be, thank God.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAGNUSON. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. PHILLIPS. I think that was an excellent statement, and I do not believe there is anybody in Congress who disagrees with it. What I want to know is why we should not have a food policy which increases and maintains production and which gives us some sort of assurance that there will be all this food next year that the gentleman is talking about this year, which we, who come from the farm areas, do not think there will be.

Mr. MAGNUSON. I do not know that there is any curtailment on the part of a farm to produce. We can produce all we want. We have some trouble getting supplies. There has been a shortage of a lot of things. I merely want to point out that in all of these discussions we should base a premise that our fighting men are the best fed of any men in the entire world, and they will continue to be. There will be some spots where there will be some canned goods that might spoil—I do not know how they will spoil in the can—there might be some butter that might melt in the South Pacific, and there might be some meat we will never use in Persia, but I would hate to think what would happen to this Congress or anybody else if we did need it in those places and it was not there. Attacks on that program are not well taken.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. DILWEG, from December 1 through December 6, 1943, on account of official business.

To Mr. GIBSON, from December 1 through December 6, 1943, on account of official business.

To Mr. JUDD, for remainder of week, on account of illness of father.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. TOLAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 58 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, November 30, 1943, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

There will be a meeting of the committee at 10 a. m. on Wednesday and Thursday, December 1 and 2, 1943, for consideration of a post-war bill, to be held in room 1324, New House Office Building.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Committee on Foreign Affairs will resume public hearings on House Resolutions 350 and 352, providing for the creation by the Executive of a commission to effectuate the rescue of the Jewish people of Europe, at 10 a. m. Thursday, December 2, 1943.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

942. A letter from the Postmaster General, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to relieve former postal employees who performed postal duties after induction into the military service; to the Committee on Claims.

943. A letter from the Director, Administrative Office of the United States Courts, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill further defining the number and duties of clerks and bailiffs in United States courts and regulating their compensation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

944. A letter from the Vice Chairman, Board of Investigation and Research, transmitting report on rate-making and rate-publishing procedures of railroad, motor, and water carriers (H. Doc. No. 363); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and ordered to be printed with illustrations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. SMITH of Virginia: Select Committee to Investigate Executive Agencies. Third intermediate report pursuant to House Resolution 102. Resolution establishing a select committee to investigate acts of executive agencies beyond the scope of their authority; without amendment (Rept. No. 898). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. MAY: Committee on Military Affairs. H. R. 1438. A bill to provide a right-of-way for an oil pipe line over the Ogden Ordnance Depot Military Reservation; without amendment (Rept. No. 899). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. McGEHEE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3605. A bill to provide for reimbursement of certain Navy personnel and former Navy personnel for personal property lost or damaged as the result of fires in tents used as quarters by members of the Twelfth Naval Construction Battalion, Long Island, Alaska, on December 26, 1942, and May 26, 1943, respectively; without amendment (Rept. No. 900). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. McGEHEE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3606. A bill to provide for reimbursement of certain Navy personnel and former Navy personnel for personal property lost or damaged as a result of a fire at the Outlying Degaussing Branch of the Norfolk Navy Yard, Portsmouth, Va., on December 4, 1942; without amendment (Rept. No. 901). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. McGEHEE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3607. A bill to provide for reimbursement of certain Navy personnel and former Navy personnel for personal property lost or damaged as a result of a fire in tent L-76 at the Amphibious Training Base, Camp Bradford, Norfolk, Va., on March 15, 1943; without amendment (Rept. No. 902). Referred to the committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. JENNINGS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1410. A bill for the relief of Dale Mc-

Neal; with amendment (Rept. No. 903). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. GOODWIN: Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1839. A bill for the relief of Ruth E. Studley; with amendment (Rept. No. 904). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MURPHY: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1847. A bill for the relief of Richard Zielinski and his parents; with amendment (Rept. No. 905). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. GOODWIN: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2872. A bill for the relief of Kenneth E. Shepard; without amendment (Rept. No. 906). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. PITTENGER: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2772. A bill for the relief of Edwin Foley; without amendment (Rept. No. 907). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SCRIVNER: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2875. A bill for the relief of Adelard Demers; with amendment (Rept. No. 908). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. McGEHEE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3661. A bill for the relief of G. F. Allen, chief disbursing officer, Treasury Department, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 909). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. McGEHEE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3729. A bill for the relief of Anna Mattil and others; with amendment (Rept. No. 910). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. McGEHEE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3747. A bill for the relief of the Marden Construction Co., Inc.; without amendment (Rept. No. 911). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H. R. 3748. A bill to authorize and direct the sale of Moore air field; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. McGEHEE:

H. R. 3749. A bill to provide for reimbursement of certain Navy personnel and former Navy personnel for personal property lost or damaged as the result of a fire in building B. O. Q. O-3 at the United States Naval Construction Training Center, Davisville, R. I., on March 27, 1943; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WALTER:

H. R. 3750. A bill to provide for the appointment of an additional circuit judge for the third circuit, and to permit the filling of the first vacancy occurring in the office of district judge for the eastern district of Pennsylvania; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LEMKE:

H. R. 3751. A bill providing for veterans' rehabilitation, preventing unemployment, chaos, and confusion at the end of the war and promoting individual, productive enterprise by enabling the returned veterans to engage in such enterprises and employ themselves in place of asking for jobs that do not exist; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SCANLON:

H. J. Res. 198. Joint resolution to authorize the equitable adjustment of the wages and salaries of employees of the United States; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolution were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. VOORHIS of California:

H. R. 3752. A bill for the relief of Second Lt. Clyde L. Gillam; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. WHITE:

H. R. 3753. A bill for the relief of Howard McMillan and Dorothy McMillan, individually and as the legal guardians of Virginia McMillan, a minor, and for Virginia McMillan; to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

3789. By Mr. MARTIN of Iowa: Petition of sundry citizens of Fairfield, Iowa, urging passage of House bill 2082; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3790. By Mr. COCHRAN: Petition of Forrest H. Millikan and 20 other St. Louis citizens, protesting against the passage of House bill 2082, which seeks to enact prohibition for the period of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3791. Also, petition of Alex Thomann and 19 other St. Louis citizens, protesting against the passage of House bill 2082, which seeks to enact prohibition for the period of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3792. Also, petition of Paul F. Regnier and 99 other St. Louis citizens, protesting against the passage of House bill 2082, which seeks to enact prohibition for the period of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3793. Also, petition of the employees of the tool room, Carter Carburetor Corporation, of St. Louis, Mo., and signed by 20 other citizens, protesting against the passage of House bill 2082, which seeks to enact prohibition for the period of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3794. Also, petition of Frank Braun and 20 other St. Louis citizens, protesting against the passage of House bill 2082, which seeks to enact prohibition for the period of the war; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3795. By Mr. THOMASON: Petition of employees of the White House Department Store, El Paso, Tex., advocating freezing present rate of pay-roll deductions under the Social Security Act at the present level of 1 percent; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3796. By Mr. ROWAN: Petition of the City Council of the City of Chicago, adopted at a regular meeting held on November 17, 1943, requesting Congress to construct certain works in the St. Clair River for control of the levels of Lakes Michigan and Huron; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

3797. By Mr. HEIDINGER: Communication from the Rosiclare Lions Club, at Rosiclare, Ill., and signed by Thomas Rose, secretary, opposing House bill 2861; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3798. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the national secretary, the Propeller Club of the United States, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to urging the lifting of any ban on American steamship companies that precludes them either by law or general administrative ruling from the ownership and operation of aircraft in overseas commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

3799. Also, petition of the chairman of the T tunnel committee of the San Pedro Civic Council, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to enactment of the so-called T tunnel bill, H. R. 3455; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

3800. Also, petition of the secretary, the Bar Association of Dallas, Dallas, Tex., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to opposition to House bill 7, with regard to poll tax; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1943

(Legislative day of Thursday, November 18, 1943)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou Father of our spirits who hearest prayer, to whom all flesh shall come, breathe upon us now, we beseech Thee, the benediction of Thy holy calm; lift the burdens of drab duty from our jaded hearts, changing stern statutes into glad songs; soothe the anxieties of our baffled minds so that with the shield of Thy peace and the sword of Thy truth we may face whatever tests this day may bring, free and fearless. Kindle on the altar of our hearts a flame of devotion to freedom's cause in all the world that shall consume in its white heat every grosser passion.

Serving here in the homeland, make us knights of the holy crusade worthy to be reckoned with those who on land and sea and in the air have sacrificed their mortal life to roll back the tide of violence from the souls of men and who, having fought for peace on crimson fields, for ordered government, just laws, and the sacredness of home and altar, have found the peace unshaken by time forever. We here remember them and bless Thy holy name, and pray that to us strength may be given to follow in their train. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Monday, November 29, 1943, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. BARKLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Alken	Gillette	Pepper
Andrews	Green	Reed
Austin	Guffey	Revercomb
Bankhead	Hatch	Reynolds
Barkley	Hawkes	Robertson
Bilbo	Hayden	Scruggs
Bone	Hill	Shipstead
Brewster	Holman	Smith
Bridges	Johnson, Calif.	Stewart
Brooks	Johnson, Colo.	Taft
Buck	Kilgore	Thomas, Idaho
Burton	Langer	Thomas, Okla.
Bushfield	Lodge	Tobey
Butler	Lucas	Truman
Byrd	McCarran	Tunnell
Capper	McClellan	Tydings
Caraway	McFarland	Vandenberg
Chavez	McKellar	Van Nuys
Clark, Idaho	Maloney	Wagner
Clark, Mo.	Maybank	Wallgren
Danaher	Mead	Walsh
Davis	Millikin	Wheeler
Eastland	Moore	Wherry
Ellender	Nye	White
Ferguson	O'Daniel	Wiley
George	O'Mahoney	Willis
Gerry	Overton	Wilson